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**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN**  
**SOCIETY.**

**COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.**

**EDWARD E. HALE.**

**CHARLES DEANE.**

**NATHANIEL PAINE.**

**CHARLES A. CHASE.**

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. III.

OCTOBER, 1883 — APRIL, 1885.



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## NOTE.

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The Third Volume of the New Series of the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society includes the proceedings of the four regular meetings of the Society from October, 1883, to April, 1885, inclusive, and of special meetings of the Council held to take action upon the death of our associate, the Hon. Dwight Foster, and that of the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, our President for thirty years. The reports of the Council include an interesting incident in the life of Alexander Hamilton, by the Hon. George Bancroft; a discussion of the origin of towns and their relations to the State, by Judge P. Emory Aldrich; facts concerning the first essays at banking and the first paper money in New England, presented by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull; and the obligations of New England to the county of Kent, by our President, the Hon. George F. Hoar.

At the annual meeting in October, 1884, a fitting memorial of President Salisbury was read by the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody. The report of that meeting also includes a letter from the Hon. George Bancroft to Dr. Peabody, and accounts of the action of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the New England Historic Genealogical Society, with the remarks of President Robert C. Winthrop of the former society, — all called forth by Mr. Salisbury's death.

The papers presented at the several meetings cover a wide range, and will be found worthy of a place in our proceedings. The list of writers includes Prof. Heinrich Fischer of Freiburg, the Hon. Hamilton B. Staples, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, Dr. Ph. J. J. Valentini, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Prof. Henry W. Haynes and Prof. Franklin B. Dexter. Obituary notices of the associates who have died during the two years are given in the reports of the Council and in papers by other members.

A very satisfactory likeness of President Salisbury, from an engraving on steel, accompanies the volume.

The Index is from the hands of the Librarian and Mr. Colton his assistant.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

WORCESTER, Oct. 21, 1885.



# CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
NOTE . . . . .	V
ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1883.	
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING . . . . .	1
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>George Bancroft; Stephen Salisbury</i> . .	96
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN . . . . .	51
DONORS AND DONATIONS . . . . .	62
REPORT OF THE TREASURER . . . . .	71
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 30, 1884.	
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING . . . . .	77
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>P. Emory Aldrich</i> . . . . .	96
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN . . . . .	125
DONORS AND DONATIONS . . . . .	130
REPORT OF THE TREASURER . . . . .	148
THE PROVINCE LAWS. <i>Hamilton B. Staples</i> . . . . .	158
THE STONE IMPLEMENTS OF ASIA. <i>Heinrich Fischer</i> . . . . .	178
MEMOIR OF DR. C. H. BERENDT. <i>Daniel G. Brinton</i> . . . . .	205
MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, AUGUST 28, 1884.	
ACTION ON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT SALISBURY . . . . .	211
ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1884.	
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING . . . . .	222
NOTICES OF THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT SALISBURY:	
MEMORIAL BY REV. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D. . . . .	227
LETTER FROM HON. GEORGE BANCROFT . . . . .	247
ACTION OF MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY . . . . .	249
ACTION OF N. E. HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY . . . . .	254
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>J. Hammond Trumbull, Samuel S. Green</i> , 257	
REPORT OF THE TREASURER . . . . .	304
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN . . . . .	310
DONORS AND DONATIONS . . . . .	327
NOTES ON COPPER IMPLEMENTS OF AMERICA. <i>Henry W. Haynes</i> . .	335

## SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 29, 1885.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING . . . . .	389
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>George F. Hoar</i> . . . . .	342
REPORT OF THE TREASURER . . . . .	372
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN . . . . .	380
DONORS AND DONATIONS . . . . .	398
AUTHORSHIP OF THE FEDERALIST. <i>Henry Cabot Lodge</i> . . . . .	409
THE HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE NAMES OF HER TOWNS. <i>Franklin B. Dexter</i> . . . . .	421
SEMI-LUNAR AND CRESCENT-SHAPED TOOLS. <i>Ph. J. J. Valentini</i> . . . . .	449
FRENCH FABRICATIONS OR BLUNDERS IN AMERICAN LINGUISTICS. <i>Henry W. Haynes</i> . . . . .	475
NOTICES OF DECEASED MEMBERS:	
ELLIS AMES. <i>Thomas L. Nelson</i> . . . . .	482
EDWARD JARVIS. <i>Samuel S. Green</i> . . . . .	484
WILLIAM BARRY. <i>William F. Poole</i> . . . . .	487
PORTER C. BLISS. <i>J. Everts Greene</i> . . . . .	490
SAMUEL C. DAMON. <i>Ebenezer Cutler</i> . . . . .	498
GEORGE H. PREBLE. <i>Nathaniel Patne</i> . . . . .	495
CHARLES O. THOMPSON. <i>P. Emory Aldrich</i> . . . . .	501
<hr/>	
OFFICERS ELECTED OCTOBER, 1884 . . . . .	507
LIST OF MEMBERS MAY 1, 1885 . . . . .	509
INDEX TO VOLUME III . . . . .	515

## PROCEEDINGS.

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ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 22, 1883, AT THE HALL OF THE  
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

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THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership): George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Charles Deane, George F. Hoar, J. Hammond Trumbull, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine, Joseph Sargent, Stephen Salisbury, Jr., P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Rufus Woodward, George S. Paine, William A. Smith, Henry M. Dexter, Francis H. Dewey, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, John D. Washburn, George H. Preble, Ben: Perley Poore, Edward H. Hall, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Charles Devens, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Horatio Rogers, Frederick W. Putnam.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the semi-annual meeting. He also reported from the Council the following names of gentlemen proposed for membership, who were by separate ballot on each name unanimously elected:

HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE, A.M., of Lancaster.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, Esq., of Worcester.

REV. CHARLES MARION LAMSON, of Worcester.

The Report of the Council was prepared by a committee consisting of Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., and the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D. Mr. BANCROFT, the chairman, being unable to attend the meeting, as he had intended to do, the report was read by Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian, read their annual reports.

All the above reports, as together constituting the report of the Council, were adopted and referred to the Committee of Publication, on motion of SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D.

In seconding Dr. GREEN's motion Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., said that it was only at such a meeting as this and not often at our meetings that one short paper brought together such names as we have heard. It was a rare pleasure, indeed, to hear the bit of original history of what passed between Washington and Hamilton, from the pen of Mr. BANCROFT, describing what Lafayette had said to Sparks. We do not often expect to meet five such characters at one moment. The incident described gives all the more dignity and tenderness to Washington's after relations with Hamilton. To the very last they seem to have been perfectly kind, and he would not permit the breeze which had passed over them, in the incident described by Mr. BANCROFT, to affect in the least his opinion of Hamilton's fitness for the public service. When in John Adams's administration Hamilton pressed his claims to outrank officers who had served above him in the Revolution, Washington maintained the claim fairly. Indeed, that matter was not settled in the cabinet in Hamilton's favor, until Washington wrote a decided letter, saying that he would himself withdraw from the chief command of the new army if Hamilton had not the first rank under him.

In this connection Dr. HALE spoke incidentally of the plans of John Adams's administration for what is popularly called the French War, and of the place that Hamilton

would have filled had those plans been carried out. He alluded to a collection of the papers of Gen. Wilkinson, now preserved by his grandson in Louisville, to which he called the attention of gentlemen interested in autographs.

Hon. CHARLES DEVENS, LL.D., spoke briefly of a portrait of Hamilton in the uniform of a major-general of the proposed army of the Mississippi, now in the possession of one of his descendants.

The Society proceeded to the annual election of officers. Hon. E. B. STODDARD and J. F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., were appointed to receive the ballots for President, all of which were for Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., who accepted the office.

Rev. HENRY M. DEXTER, D.D., Major BEN: PERLEY POORE, and SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., were appointed a committee to nominate the remainder of the list of officers. They made the following report of nominations, which was accepted, and the gentlemen nominated were, by ballot, unanimously elected :

*Vice-Presidents :*

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Washington.

*Councillors :*

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., A.M., of Worcester.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, of Worcester.

Hon. DWIGHT FOSTER, LL.D., of Boston.

Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

Rev. WILLIAM R. HUNTINGTON, D.D., of Worcester.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.



*Secretary of Foreign Correspondence:*

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford.

*Secretary of Domestic Correspondence:*

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

*Recording Secretary:*

JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

*Treasurer:*

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

*Committee of Publication:*

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

*Auditors:*

HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Prof. FREDERICK W. PUTNAM gave (an account of his recent excursions in Wisconsin and Ohio.) His paper, on motion of Dr. GREEN, was referred to the committee of publication, but as the author wishes to make further researches in both regions before publishing a detailed account of the ancient earthworks which he examined, a brief abstract only of his remarks is given here.

During the excursion Mr. PUTNAM was accompanied by his friend and pupil, Mr. John Cone Kimball, who took photographs of many of the works. Sketches of several were also made and were shown at the meeting.

For a portion of the time in Wisconsin the Rev. Stephen D. Peet, of Clinton, Wisconsin, was of the party, and to

his knowledge of the singular earthworks of that State Mr. PUTNAM expressed his indebtedness.

It is well known that the earthworks of Wisconsin, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river, are remarkable from the fact that a large proportion are in the forms of animals and men, a fact which is of great ethnical importance when we remember that such effigy mounds have not been found in the adjoining regions. The only works in North America with which they are at all comparable are three in Ohio, known as the "serpent-mound," the "alligator-mound," and "Whittlesey's effigy-mound," and the two "bird-mounds" in Georgia.

In Wisconsin the effigies of animals and men are very numerous, and there is hardly a lake or a river from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, on the borders of which they cannot be traced in large or small groups. They are made entirely of earth and stand out in low relief; those visited being from two to four or five feet high, though generally they were of great linear extent.

Many of these groups of effigies are associated with long narrow mounds of about the same height, and in nearly all the groups which he examined, conical mounds, varying from four to twenty feet or more in height, were found in close proximity to the effigies. These conical mounds are, in general, believed to be burial mounds, and many have been proved to be such, while the effigy mounds and the long low earthworks associated with them are generally believed not to contain human remains. Mr. PUTNAM, however, thought that the examinations had not yet been made with sufficient care and thoroughness as to enable correct conclusions to be drawn in relation to the exact character of the Wisconsin mounds. Many of the groups have been surveyed, and others have been sketched, but as yet only very unsatisfactory explorations have been made. Excavations at random have been made in hundreds of the mounds, either in search of relics or from mere curiosity,

but the results of such unscientific work are seldom recorded, and our knowledge of the contents of the mounds has not been thereby increased.

What should be done before conclusions of importance can be drawn, is to make careful and thorough explorations of several of the groups. Not only should the effigy and other low mounds of a group be thoroughly explored by cutting trenches their whole length and width, and digging at least two feet below the surface on which the mound rests, but the land between and about the mounds should be trenched and carefully examined in order to see if there be any signs of a former village site or of a burial place. Of course the associated conical mounds should also be systematically examined, by a series of trenches through each mound, and not simply by sinking a shaft in its centre. This latter method as it is pursued by the relic hunter, who, caring only for the relics he may find, wishes to obtain them with the least possible amount of labor, is vandalism, not exploration.

When several such thorough explorations shall have been made by competent men under the auspices of the State or of some well established institution, so that the results will be secured to science by publication, we shall be able to draw conclusions of importance. The author, however, did not intend to imply that a study and survey of the groups themselves was not of importance. That should precede exploration in every case, but the true character of the earthworks would never be understood until such a series of careful investigations had been made. From the absence of such explorations Mr. PUTNAM expressed himself unable to answer many of the questions asked by members of the Society, but he admitted that the examinations he had made of a few of the groups gave some indications that the effigy mounds marked burial places, although he did not at all feel sure that such would prove to be the object for which they were erected. The fact that in one

large group containing several effigy mounds there were a large number of conical mounds, in nearly all of which human skeletons had been found, was the best evidence he could offer in support of this view.

Many of the effigy mounds, rudely but characteristically represent the animals formerly abundant in the country, as the bear and panther, and also birds and men. A form usually called "turtle-mounds" may be intended to represent the stretched skin of a deer or a buffalo as it would appear when pegged out on the ground for scraping, as done by the Indians. A drawing was shown of such a mound in the group explored by the author in the city park at LaCrosse.

In the centre of this mound remains of a human skeleton were found and with it were fragments of a pottery vessel, a chipped stone implement and several flint flakes. This mound was only slightly over two feet in height, but it had been evidently reduced by long-continued trampling of beasts and men, and it may have been dug into in the past, as only a portion of the bones of the skeleton were found, although the mound was thoroughly examined. Three small conical mounds are near this effigy mound, but they had been previously disturbed, holes having been dug on their summits, and it was understood that human bones had been found. In the largest of the three the author found, near the surface, a few potsherds and fragments of human bones. In this case the burial had been made on the summit of the mound and was of the class called "intrusive," that is, it had no connection with the object for which the mound was raised, the mound simply having been used as a convenient place for the burial of an Indian in recent times.

In the smallest of the three conical mounds a fragment of a human bone was found, which probably belonged to a skeleton removed by some former digger. Near the bottom of this mound several bones of domestic animals

were found, and at first they were supposed to prove that the mound had been erected since the occupation of the country by the whites; farther examination, however, soon showed that a fox or some other carnivorous animal had made its burrow in the mound and had brought in leaves and grass, as well as several animal bones, including those of the sheep, ox and pig. Had this mound remained unexplored for a considerable time longer, until the vegetable matter had decayed and the earth become compact in the centre of the burrow, as it already had for most of its length, these animal bones would have been taken as a sure sign that the mound was of recent origin.<sup>1</sup>

Two extensive groups were traced on either side of the Baraboo river. The one on the south side of the river contains the only human effigy met with, although several have been recorded. In this case the form of a man, extended at full length on his back, was well defined to the knees. The portion below them had been destroyed by ploughing. From the top of the head to the knees the length is eighty-three feet, across the hips the width is twenty-three and one-half feet, and from shoulder to shoulder thirty-seven feet. The neck is ten feet wide. The head is seventeen feet wide and ten feet long on a line from the side of the neck to a point opposite. The arms are slightly curved and about thirty-five feet in length measured from the arm-pit. They terminate just below the projecting portion representing the hips.

This "man-mound" is at the foot of a hill. The head is to the north, up the hill, and directly north of it there is a line of several conical mounds extending over the hill.

On the opposite side of the river there is a still larger group comprising nearly thirty conical mounds, two long mounds, three "bird-mounds" and a "bear-mound," besides

<sup>1</sup> It was a great satisfaction to the author to find that the city authorities of La Crosse were willing to re-sod and preserve this group of mounds, hence great care was taken to preserve their outlines during the exploration and to carefully fill the trenches when the work was done.

one or two others the form of which cannot now be made out.

Several other groups were visited in the vicinity of Baraboo, and one, in which there were three large bird-mounds, was seen on the Wisconsin river, near the Lower Dells. Several groups were also visited at Madison, one of which is on the Observatory grounds. A group over the stone quarry was carefully examined and of this a survey has since been made under the direction of Prof. Holden, for the Peabody Museum. This group contains among other forms a "panther-mound" two hundred and thirty feet long; a "bird-mound" seventy-one feet long, with wings nearly eighty feet in extent stretched at right angles from the body; a "bear-mound," about eighty feet in length from head to tail, is a good representation of the animal seen in profile.

To one inclined to the theory of the south-western origin of the mound-building nations on this continent, Mr. PUTNAM thought the study of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin in connection with their descent from a higher type of work, would prove as interesting as the supposed decadence of architecture towards the east and north. It was, he said, of interest to note, whatever the true meaning of the facts may be, that while the animal and human forms are represented in Wisconsin by low mounds made by scraping up the earth about the spot, in Ohio the three effigy mounds are made of clay placed over a foundation of stones, and that the two bird-mounds in Georgia were made entirely of stones which were selected with more or less care. Next to these stone-built effigies of Georgia we must consider the "pumas" cut from stone, mentioned by Bandelier as found on a hill in New Mexico, which are connected with the ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians. With these the comparison can be made with the animal and human forms, both of small and large size, cut in stone, and found in portions of Mexico, and from these

the transition is easy to the combination of similar forms with the architectural ornaments of the large buildings of Yucatan, where pumas, serpents, birds and human forms, both simple and in combinations of many kinds, abound.

It would also be of further interest in this connection to trace the pictographs, the potter's art, and the carvings in stone, bone, shell and wood, found in various parts of North America, representing both animals and man.

Such a survey of these arts would show many points of similarity between widely separated portions of the country and would help either to confirm, or disprove, the conclusions which have been drawn as to the supposed close connection of all the American nations.

The excursion in Ohio took place in September. After an examination of several places in the Little Miami Valley, where explorations were being carried on for the Peabody Museum, under the personal supervision of Dr. Metz, during which Mr. Kimball took several photographs of mounds, a party consisting of Dr. C. L. Metz, Mr. C. F. Low, Judge Cox, Mr. Kimball and the speaker took the cars to Hillsboro. At this place a large mule wagon was secured and the trip made to Brush Creek, on which stream and its east branch are found the famous Serpent Mound and the ancient fortification known as Fort Hill. Thence to Bainbridge and down the Paint Creek valley to Chillicothe, on the Scioto. From this city excursions were made to the Hopeton, High Bank and other earthworks and mounds in the vicinity. It will be seen that the route was through a portion of Ohio containing some of the most noted earthworks described by Atwater and published in the first volume of the Transactions of this Society in 1820, also many of the works which about a quarter of a century afterwards received the attention of Squier and Davis and have been illustrated in the important volume published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1848.



The first point visited was the ancient work designated by Squier and Davis as the "Great Serpent." This is on the land of Mr. John J. Lovett, Bratton Township in Adams county. The singular structure is on a high ridge of land, along the western side of which the east fork of Brush Creek flows to the southward. This ridge ends at the north in a narrow precipitous ledge about eighty feet high. On the eastern side, except at its northern portion, the ridge is not as precipitous as on the western, and towards the southeast it rounds off to the cultivated fields. The ridge has several deep gullies on the western side and one or two on the eastern. It curves somewhat to the southwest, and there is a considerable depression in the central portion.

The outer edge of the oval figure in front of the "mouth of the serpent," is eighty-five feet from the edge of the precipice forming the northern boundary of the ridge. This figure is made by a low embankment, now about two to three feet high and from sixteen to eighteen feet wide, enclosing an oval space eighty-six feet in length and about thirty feet in width at the widest part of the figure towards its southern end. Just north of the centre of this oval figure there are the remains of a small pile of stones, which Squier and Davis mention as having been thrown down when they surveyed the work in 1846. The ridge was cleared of its forest many years ago and for a time was ploughed and cultivated, so that the height of the earth-work has been considerably reduced. It is probable that it was never much over four feet high in any part, which is the height stated by Mr. Lovett's father who remembers it before it was ploughed over.

Between the oval figure and the edge of the ledge there is a slightly raised circular ridge of earth, from either side of which a curved ridge extends towards the sides of the oval figure. This is not noticed by Squier and Davis and it may have been formed by sheep or cattle approaching

the edge of the cliff around the oval figure, but its symmetry and position in relation to the oval figure makes it necessary to call attention to it.

A curved embankment, about two feet high and eighteen feet wide in its central portion, following the outline of the southern end of the oval, but seventeen feet from it, measuring eighty-four feet from east to west, forms the "mouth of the serpent." From each end of this curved portion an embankment fourteen feet wide extends southward about ninety feet, uniting and forming one forty feet wide, which makes the "neck of the serpent." On each side of the "head" thus formed, and near the centre, there is a projecting portion of the embankment which curves outward and downward for about thirty feet in length. In the figure given by Squier and Davis these projections are represented as at right angles to the embankment and as if projecting from the "neck." In this and in a few other details the figure mentioned does not agree with the diagram exhibited, and the several discrepancies were noticed by all the party. From the wide portion forming the "neck" the embankment gradually narrows to about fifteen feet and curves to the eastward. Then it makes a sharp curve to the southwest and south. The second curve is a sharp one to the eastward; thence the embankment extends southward and curves to the west, then south down the depression which divides the northern from the southern portion of the ridge, and, again, in a long stretch to the southeast, then south, making a shorter curve to the west, then extending up the slight declivity of the depression to the southeast, thence it sweeps to the westward and again turns slightly to the eastward, from which point the triple coil of the "tail" begins. At the end of the "tail" the width of the embankment is not over five feet, and its height is about one foot. The total length of the "serpent" following all the curves, and starting from the extreme point of the curved part forming the "mouth"

is thirteen hundred and thirty-five feet. Measured from the northern end of the oval figure, on a line drawn through the centre of the "head" and following the curves from this point to the end of the "tail of the serpent," the total length of the work is fourteen hundred and fifteen feet.

In respect to its structure this work differs from the effigy mounds of Wisconsin in having its base formed in great part of small stones upon which the earth was placed. That the work was intended in a general way to represent a serpent, or snake, the speaker thought could not be doubted, and also that the oval figure in front of it was part of the general design; but that the oval figure was intended to represent an egg either about to be swallowed by the serpent, or ejected by it, he thought might be questioned. The serpent has always played an important part in the mythology of the new as well as in that of the old world; but in instituting a comparison between the two the speaker said we must not go too fast or too far. On the ancient pottery of Peru and on the burial jars from Pacoval, Brazil, the serpent is represented in various ways. On some vessels it is painted in color, on others it is moulded or carved in relief. Among the gold ornaments found in ancient graves all the way from Peru to the Isthmus, the serpent is often found. On a large number of the ancient burial jars of Nicaragua, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, it is represented either in a realistic or conventional manner, and in this connection has, presumably, a mythological or symbolical meaning. In Yucatan it appears carved in stone on the front of one of the large ruined buildings. Farther north in Mexico it is common among the Terra-cotta figures and pictographs. On the pottery from the mounds in Missouri it is known as an ornament on at least two specimens which are figured in the Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Science. In Tennessee, particularly in the mounds in the eastern portion, it appears on the carved shells, as shown by the numerous specimens

in the Cambridge Museum, and in that Museum there is also a carving on a piece of antler, recently found by Dr. Metz in a mound in the Little Miami Valley, which represents the rattlesnake in a conventionalized manner. These were some of the prominent instances, but with them should be remembered the serpent gens of several Indian tribes, and the myths and stories in which the serpent often has a prominent part. Bearing these facts in mind, the speaker said it was not at all surprising to find the serpent of gigantic size represented back of the imposing precipice in the beautiful valley of Brush Creek, and he thought it might be regarded either as a symbol, a monument to mark a sacred place, or possibly as a place of worship.

About two hundred feet to the southeast of the serpent-mound, the earth in the ploughed field, for an acre or more, is darker than the surrounding soil, and contains many fragments of pottery, flint chips, arrowheads, hammer-stones, and other stone implements, which were in vain sought for in the light colored soil adjoining. This would indicate either a village site or an ancient burial place, but the long-continued cultivation of the spot precludes any definite conclusions until an extended exploration of the region is made.

Further to the southeast, or about five hundred feet from the "tail of the serpent," there is a conical mound which has never been excavated. It is now about fifteen feet high and sixty in diameter, but it has been ploughed over for many years and is consequently considerably lower than when first known to the Lovett family whose house is near by.

"Fort Hill" in Highland county was the next place visited and was found to be in every way the remarkable fortification described by Squier and Davis. The immense stone wall, built on the very edge of the hill and even extending down its steep sides, the ditch inside the wall,

from which the stones were taken, and the almost inaccessible level area of nearly fifty acres covered with a forest growth of great age, all tend to render this one of the most remarkable of the ancient works of the country, and probably no other work in the United States has the impress of antiquity so strongly stamped upon it as this. The growth of vegetation has almost incorporated the artificial wall, twenty to thirty feet or more in width and from eight to fifteen feet in height, with the natural hill-side, and immense trees have grown and decayed on the very summit of the wall. One decayed oak stump on the wall still measures over nine feet by seven in its two diameters,<sup>1</sup> and there are several others of six and seven feet in diameter. The accurate description and plan given by Squier and Davis render a detailed account of this work unnecessary, the speaker said, but he thought that it should be visited by every one inclined to doubt the antiquity of the great works of the State of Ohio. The much larger and in some respects more scientific structure known as Fort Ancient, although probably as old, did not make such an impression upon him as did this old Fort on the isolated hill, rising some five hundred feet above the bottom lands of Brush Creek.

On the drive down Paint Creek the several earthworks described by Atwater were visited, but they were found to be nearly obliterated, and walls once eight or ten feet high are now barely traceable. This rapid yielding to the levelling hand of man is due to the fact that the earth of which they were composed was principally of surface soil and could be easily levelled or greatly reduced by the plough. The large tumulus near the earthwork marked A on Atwater's map is probably but little changed since his time, and fine photographs were taken of it. The stone

<sup>1</sup>This is probably the decayed stump recorded by Squier and Davis thirty-seven years ago as twenty-three feet in circumference. The diameters given above were taken across the top of the stump which is still nearly three feet high.

fort on the hill near Bainbridge is said to be nearly destroyed and was not visited.

During the drive down the valley from Bainbridge to Chillicothe, eighteen mounds, all of considerable size, were seen from the wagon. At Chillicothe the party were joined by Mr. Albert Douglas, jr., and Dr. B. F. Miesse, with whom several excursions were made to ancient works in the vicinity.

About four miles to the northwest of the city, near the fair grounds, there is a large conical mound nearly thirty feet high, from the top of which can be seen three other large mounds, all of which are conspicuous objects in the valley, as is shown by the photographs taken.

The Hopeton Works and the adjoining group, designated as Cedar Bank Works by Squier and Davis, were found to be the best preserved and in several respects the most interesting of the large earthworks in the Scioto valley. The description and figures given of these groups by Squier and Davis leave little to be said. Of course the constant cultivation of the land has greatly reduced the embankment of the large circle, which was probably never more than five feet in height, but it, as well as the two small circles on the east side of the square, can still be traced. The eleven higher and harder clay walls forming the square have proved a greater obstacle to the plough and portions of them are probably now of about their original height, or nearly twelve feet. In fact these clay walls are so hard and compact that their cultivation is too difficult a matter to be undertaken without going to great labor and expense, as was stated by Squire J. Smith who has given much attention to their structure. To Squire Smith the party were under great obligations for his guidance over the works and to the group a mile above. He has also kindly promised to send to the Peabody Museum a survey of the two groups, with accurate measurements of the walls. Many stone implements and

flint chips have been found in and about the enclosures, several of which were given to the speaker, and others were found by the party.

The earthworks at High Bank, about five miles below Chillicothe, on the Scioto river, were visited, and it was found that great changes had taken place since they were surveyed by Squier and Davis in 1846. All the smaller works adjoining the large circle and octagon have nearly disappeared, and the wall of the large circle is nearly obliterated. Even the seven<sup>1</sup> embankments forming the octagon have been reduced and spread by successive ploughings and cultivation, so that they are now not over four to six feet high, and are about sixty feet wide on top. They seem to have been made of the subsoil of the region, but are not so hard and compact as the embankments at Hopeton. Mr. Milton Jones, on whose land a portion of the work is situated, informed the speaker that a number of human bones had been ploughed up in the large circle, and that numerous stone implements had been found within the works; and he kindly gave the Peabody Museum two polished celts obtained during the present year. He also stated that whenever the walls of the octagon had been ploughed over his attention had not been attracted by any particular objects in the clay.

In relation to Mr. Morgan's theory that these high walls were erected for the purpose of building the dwelling places of the people upon them, the speaker stated that he thought the general character of works of this class was against the theory. There are many such in Ohio in which the circle is combined with a square or an octagon, and they are all so nearly alike and have so many accessories in common that it is probable they were made by one great people for the same purpose.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The wall on one side is so built as to correspond with the two on the opposite side.

<sup>2</sup>The following gives the size of a few of the earthworks to be considered in this connection with the heights of their walls:—

*High Bank Works.* The octagon contains twenty acres. Its walls were  
2



While such houses as Mr. Morgan has suggested could have been erected on some of the earthworks, on others of a similar character except in the size of the walls, it would have been useless if not impossible to have built the houses so as to form a means of defense, as he has suggested. It seems far more probable, if such works were defensive villages, that the high walls were simply a substitute for lower walls which had palisades on their summits. In such walled towns as have been protected from cultivation unquestionable sites of the houses of the people have been found within the walls or embankments, as in Tennessee and Missouri, and in these cases there can be but little doubt that the low embankments were surmounted by palisades.

Within the Ohio squares and octagons, a large quantity of refuse material and many implements and ornaments have been found, such as would be expected in and around the houses of the people, while nothing of the kind, not even the ashes and charcoal of fires, had been traced on the top or sides of the high embankments. In answer to this it might be said that all signs of the houses, fires and refuse from the dwellings would have been washed from the tops and sides of the walls in the long period of time which has elapsed since they were destroyed. The speaker would say in response that this refuse material would be somewhere, it could not all decay, and he knew

twelve feet high. The circle contains eighteen acres. Its walls were five feet high.

*Hopeton Works.* Square twenty acres; walls twelve feet; circle twenty acres; walls five feet.

*Newark Works.* Octagon fifty acres; walls five to six feet; circle twenty acres; walls twelve feet high in one portion, rest six feet. Square twenty acres; walls five to six feet.

*Liberty Works.* Square twenty-seven acres; walls four feet. Large circle forty acres; walls three feet.

*Marietta Works.* Large square fifty acres; walls five to six feet. Small square twenty-seven acres and walls of less height than other. The elevated platforms of earth inside and near the walls of these squares are two to three feet higher than the walls.

*Portsmouth Works.* The eastern wall of the square is ten feet and the western, part of which is natural, is forty feet high.

from long experience in making explorations that it was always found on the immediate site of the house or in a refuse pile near by. The speaker claimed that we had no right to theorize about what might be done, but by careful examination with spade and pick we should endeavor to find out what had been done, and this not in one place but in many, as it was by the accumulation of a hundred little facts found under similar conditions that we are led to the proper determination of the whole. As to the supposed wash of the walls and their spreading from that cause, the speaker stated that there was much misconception in that connection. Of course grass and other vegetation would soon begin to grow on an embankment and if the embankment was made smooth and compact and was cared for, as these ancient embankments must have been, the wash and spreading of the walls would be very slight indeed, and the greater part would take place during the first years of their existence. After such a place was left to nature the vegetable growth would at once encroach upon it and protect it from the elements. In fact, he felt convinced, from many examinations of the ancient mounds of earth, that of all the monuments erected by man none were so enduring; but as soon as man started their destruction by removing the vegetation and exposing the unprotected soil to the winds and rains, disintegration began and would continue until vegetation again spread its protecting arms over the spot.

The speaker also thought that we must take other things into consideration in relation to Mr. Morgan's theory that the people who built these earthworks in the Ohio valley were closely connected with the pueblo people west of the Rio Grande, that they were, in fact, an offshoot from them, and hence the peculiar method of architecture.

In this connection it was only necessary to call attention to several of the arts of the people of the two regions to show that they had nothing in common either in ceramic

or decorative art; and from the little we know of their osteological remains it could only be said that there was a general resemblance in their physical characters such as would probably prove to be common to all the great Mongolian stock to which both probably belonged.

In the discussion which ensued, Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES said:—

Mr. PRESIDENT.—In the course of the very interesting account, which Mr. PUTNAM has just given us, of his visit to the scenes of ancient earthworks in the Scioto valley, Ohio, and particularly in his description of the so-called “High-Bank” work, he has taken occasion to express his dissent from the view which, it is well known, the late Mr. Lewis H. Morgan has advocated in regard to the object for which earthworks of this character were erected. The grounds for this difference of opinion, so far as I was able to gather them, seem to be three. *First*, the very slight elevation of the work, at present amounting to no more than four or five feet; *second*, the absence of any trace of organic materials upon the surface of the mounds, which the decay of wooden structures of the character and size supposed to have been erected upon it would not have failed to leave; and *third*, the fact that the most diligent search also failed to discover there any relics of human occupancy. Stone implements, flakes and fragments he finds in abundance within the enclosed oven, but never upon the mounds themselves; whereas in other localities he has found such objects among the very remains of the dwelling itself, as well as traces of wooden materials. I must confess, Mr. PRESIDENT, that it seems to me, unless stronger objections than these can be brought against Mr. Morgan’s theory, it is likely to stand. Where would you expect to find implements and fragments of stones, if not in the enclosed area into which they have been washed by the rains and waste of centuries, and how many hundreds of years, pray, are the *débris* of the slight wooden struct-

ures erected by the mound-builders likely to endure? That Mr. PUTNAM has found such traces of human occupation among other remains of ancient habitations, only goes to prove how much later in date they must be than the mounds.

But in regard to the actual elevation of the earthwork there is a decided conflict of testimony between Mr. Morgan and Mr. PUTNAM, which, as I have never seen the work myself, I cannot undertake to explain. Mr. Morgan in his "Studies of the Houses of the American Aborigines" (published in the First Ann. Rept. of the Archæol. Inst. of America), p. 54, quoting from Messrs. Squier and Davis, states that "the walls of the octagon [of the High-Bank Pueblo] are very bold, and where they have been least subject to cultivation are now between eleven and twelve feet in height, by about fifty feet base." He then proceeds to argue that, "if the embankments of the High-Bank Pueblo were re-formed with the materials washed down, and now spread over a base of fifty feet, with sloping sides and a level summit, they would form new embankments thirty-seven feet wide at the base, ten feet high, and with a summit platform twenty-two feet wide. . . Such embankment would provide ample site for long joint-tenement houses. . . The embankment, indeed, answered as a substitute for the first story of the house, which was usually from ten to twelve feet high, and closed up solid externally. . . The Pueblo externally would present a continuous rampart of earth, about ten feet high, around the inclosed area; upon this rampart the timber-framed houses, ten or twelve feet in height, with the walls coated thickly with earth or gravel, and sloping with a continuous line with the embankment, would form with it an unbroken wall of not less than twenty feet high. . . Among the Mound-Builders a rampart of earth ten feet high around a village would afford no protection; but surmounted with Long-Houses, the walls of which ran continuous with the

embankment, the strength of these walls, though of timber coated with earth, would render a rampart thus surmounted and doubled in height a formidable barrier against Indian assault." Precisely the same figures are repeated, and the argument is stated, if possible, with even greater force by Mr. Morgan in his posthumous work, "Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines." (Contrib. to N. A. Ethnology, vol. iv.), pp. 204-214.

It is admitted that the strength of Mr. Morgan's argument consists in its cumulative character, by which all the various styles of building found among the aborigines of this continent are brought into harmony and accounted for, and in the course of it he had occasion to give a probable and reasonable explanation of the object for which the mounds were erected. This I still think he has done in face of the criticisms that have been placed upon his theory.

GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., in continuing the discussion, spoke in approval of Prof. PUTNAM's caution in advancing any theory, and said substantially :

In listening to the paper read and illustrated to us by Prof. PUTNAM, with its statements authenticated by his own local observations and measurements, I was pleasantly impressed by the caution and moderation of the writer as to the inferences or deductions he would draw in the support of any theory about the phenomena of which he has spoken. It is a current, and I may say an intelligent opinion held by many who are greatly interested, though not experts, in our Archæological science, that there is apt to be haste, if not rashness, in drawing positive inferences and basing theoretical conclusions when the facts and phenomena passing under notice are not sufficient to warrant them. In the lack of records and even of traditions concerning prehistoric times we have to deal largely with physical tokens, with rocks and soil, with natural features and phenomena. The point of interest for us is to detect and define in connection with these any signs or

relics of humanity, the proofs of the presence and the work of men. It is not at all strange that many relics and phenomena, many appearances and disposals of material elements, should puzzle us, as we observe and study them, with doubts as to whether, so to speak, nature alone or man and nature together were represented in the scenes and objects before us. The old legend kept in remembrance by the familiar name given to that marvellous massing of basaltic columns on the coast of Ireland, "The Giants' Causeway," does not appear so wholly without reason for itself when we stand, or climb, or float, amazed and bewildered at the objects before us. Those piled-up tiers and layers of huge pentagonal or hexagonal blocks, regularly and with mathematical accuracy adjusted to each other, with mortise and tenon, exploding like a gun when pried apart at their interstices—might well represent to us the toil or play of a race of herculean men, shown in other trials of strength and ingenuity than were spent upon the gigantic monuments of Egypt. But as we yield to nature that imposing architectural wonder, we may well learn the lesson of allowing as to many baffling phenomena, where oblivion has settled, and the earth, and stones and mounds are mute, that the regular or phenomenal processes of nature, especially its convulsions and catastrophes, its floods and tidal waves and shakings, may have left objects which suggest the presence and hand of man. There is an alternative on the side of nature for many of the archaeological phenomena which are designated as tokens of a human agency. The acres of shell-heaps,—were they heaved and piled from fecund watery beds, or do they represent the kitchen relics of men who year after year for long spaces, gathered at the same spot for the same meal, and threw the empty valves on the same mound?

Sir Charles Lyell, standing before the cataract of Niagara, with a happy facility of estimate on the spot, and a generous draft upon unrecorded epochs, calculated that nature

had been just about 40,000 years in wearing through that chasm. What hinders that a convulsion of nature should have wrought the result in a week, or in a night? That tidal wave which a few years ago carried vessels miles up into the country on the South American coast and buried them with their contents, while it exposed the long interred corpses in old cemeteries, may have provided some rich finds for future archæologists. Implements found in caves of alluvial materials will not always serve as substitutes for trustworthy calendars or chronometers. The masses of rocks, poised or rolling, strewn about our fields, may have dropped out of passing icebergs; but some of them, as they rest upon solid ledges of the same formation, unless they are marvellous illustrations of "Electic Affinities," suggest that they may have been indigenous in the spots where they appear, like the bones in our bodies, the soil having washed away around them. I have never been able to account to myself for the reason of the theory by which our archæologists interpolate the bronze between the stone and the iron ages for disposing of the implements which record for us the succession of prehistoric epochs. We may all of us see localities on the banks of our Western rivers where the iron ore crops out so handily that a smart fire built by some wild human bivouackers would cause the metal to flow down, available for hatchets, spear and arrow heads—a great advance upon the stone implements. But why should this ready product of nature for primitive men, be deferred for recognized use till an artificial compound of two smelted metals—copper and tin—should have been the result of a manufacture? I must crave some indulgence as a sceptic in these matters—for I am not an expert. And now as I look upon some of those diagrams which Prof. PUTNAM has drawn for us—those earthen traceries in the forms of winged birds, and the serpent with its abundance of spirals, while the Professor without dictating to us, allows us to speculate whether men, and what sort of men,

and when, and for what purpose, wrought out those curious forms, I find myself thinking about Noah's flood, or some other flood, and wondering whether natural elements and forces have not had some agency there. If nature could make the Giants' Causeway, she can do many other things, strange and rare and very puzzling to us. Go at low tide to one of our extensive ocean beaches, like that for instance at York, Maine, after a week of severe easterly storm, you may trace in the sand, that has been lashed and gullied and cut by crevasses, many very curious birdlike and serpentine fashionings. The tearing deluges of rain upon our rough hill and mountain sides leave vestiges in the broad valleys which would surely tell in their effects upon any mounds or earthworks, which were originally either the freaks of nature or the unexplained devices of men for habitation or defence. The reports of the United States geologist Hayden, and other government explorers, of the wonders and beauties of the once so-called Great American Desert, with their rich colored illustrations, show to us in pictured rocks, in towered and castellated shafts, and isolated columns—works which have so much of the semblance of human sportiveness and ingenuity, that only their extent and scale and abundance utterly preclude any recognition among them of the agency of man.

Meanwhile, what are we to say or to think about those prehistoric races of men which our archæologists are seeking to trace through these grotesque earthworks? Agassiz has told us that this continent, through its geological conditions, was the first region of the earth fitted for sustaining human life. An assertion, originally ventured as an hypothesis, is now finding an accepted, or not often challenged, repetition in our archæological literature, that this continent had been the home of several successive races of advanced, though unequal, stages in civilization, long previous to the occupancy here of those known to the first European explorers as our aborigines. Has any positive



evidence as yet been presented in relic or mound of that pristine civilization? Among all the curious gatherings in our museums is there a single certified object in composition, material or fabric, an implement or a device, which can be proved to have involved resources or exercises of ingenuity surpassing those which were in contemporaneous existence among the natives, as known to the Spanish invaders and the subsequent European colonists? I am a firm believer in some august truths and mysteries, but have strong sceptical tendencies about many modern scientific theories.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. CHARLES DEANE, who said:—

I have but a brief communication to make, Mr. PRESIDENT; it consists of a few extracts from a small geographical work by Johann Schöner of Nuremburg, written in Latin about forty years after the discovery of the new world by Columbus, and entitled “Opusculum Geographicum,” &c., printed at Nuremburg (*Ex urbe Norica*), in 1533.<sup>1</sup>

I will premise here that the author was a distinguished mathematician and astronomer, of the school of the famous Regiomontanus, whose disciples, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, assembled in that city, “and there exercised by their writings, maps and globes a great influence on American discovery and geography.” (Kohl, *Hist. Discovery of Maine*, 158.) Schöner made several globes, only one of which I have seen. That of 1520 is interesting as showing the new lands of America broken up into islands, and wholly separated from Asia. South America is wholly separated from the northern portion by a broad strait, for which Columbus in his later voyages had made search, and on this southern portion is inscribed,

<sup>1</sup> “Joannis Schoneri Carolostadii opusculum geographicum ex diversorum libris ac cartis summa cura & diligentia collectum, accommodatum ad recenter elaboratum ab eodem globum descriptionis terrenæ.” This book was written to elucidate his globe of 1533, in the Militär-Bibliothek at Weimar.

"*America vel Brasilia sive papagalli terra.*" I have here an original copy of the map of Peter Apian, belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, which was first issued in Camer's Solinus, published in 1520. The new lands and islands are here separated from Asia, and a large southern continent is inscribed "*America Puincia.*" This has been regarded as the earliest published map yet known bearing the name of America.<sup>1</sup> Schöner's globe of 1520 was made substantially on the model of Behaim's globe of 1492, also at Nuremburg, with the addition of the newly discovered islands. Copies of each were included in the collection of maps published by Ghillany at Nuremburg in 1853.

The early discoverers believed that the new lands were parts of Asia—either headlands or out-lying islands—and Columbus and Vesputius died in that belief. The wish was father to the thought. They were not in search of a new world, but of the wealth of the old world, as described in such glowing colors by Marco Polo; and the early map makers so delineated these discoveries. But some of these geographers, notably Stobnicza, in his map published in his introduction to Ptolemy, Cracow, 1512, seem in their guesses to have come near the truth. A close investigation, however, of these will usually show that their delineations of the western coast were intended to express their ignorance of its termination, and an inscription denoting that *all beyond is unknown* will often be found there. Such an one will be seen on the globe of Schöner.

The early maps were made under such different circumstances, and by geographers of so many different schools,

<sup>1</sup> I do not forget that there has turned up within two years a copy of an edition of the "*Cosmographiæ Introductio*," printed at Lyons (*Lugdunum*), France, with the alleged date on it of 1514, containing a map representing the newly discovered lands, with a large detached island or continent at the south, on which is inscribed, "*America noviter reperta.*" This of course antedates the inscriptions on the map of Apian and on the globe of Schöner. There may be an error in the date. But see Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography*, in H. U. Bulletin, No. 25, p. 112, and No. 26, p. 164. The book, with a copy of the map, was advertised by Tross in his catalogue No. XIV. for 1881, Lot 4924, and, it is understood, has found a purchaser in New York.

isolated from each other, and often shut out from the best sources of information, that it becomes difficult in the study of maps to trace from them any regular progress towards the truth for many years after the discovery of the new world; and maps are found made in the latter half of the sixteenth century no nearer the truth than some of those made during the twenty years following the first voyage of Columbus.

We shall see in this little geography of Schöner of 1533, that he has made no progress from the ideas he expressed on his globe of 1520, if indeed there is not a retrogression. The new lands are described as a part of Asia.

Part II. Chap. I. *Of the general division of the earth.*

Although the mass of the earth is surrounded by the ocean like some great island, and is one mass, yet older authorities have divided it into three parts, the first of which they called Europe, to the north, our country; the second, Africa, to the south from us; while the third they called Asia, more to the east from us. Europe is separated from Asia by the river Don (Tanais) the sea of Azof (Meotides) and the Euxine sea. Africa is separated from Europe by the Mediterranean sea, while Asia is separated from Europe by the boundaries before mentioned, and from Africa by the Isthmus of Suez (Judiac) and the Red sea. Europe is bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by the British Ocean, on the east by the river Don, the Sea of Azof and the Pontine or Euxine Sea, and on the south by the Mediterranean Sea, which is our Sea. Africa is bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Aetheopian Sea, on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the east by the Isthmus of Suez and the Arabian Gulf. Asia, which excels the others in size and wealth, has on the west the same boundaries as Europe and Africa, on the north it is bounded by the Scythian Ocean, on the east by the Eastern Indian Ocean, and on the south by the Southern Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea.

But not only have the three parts mentioned been now more widely explored, but also another fourth part has

been seen and partly explored, which later writers have called Brasil, situated towards the south pole, a long distance beyond the tropic of Capricorn, and not as yet fully known. Nevertheless, Americus Vesputius sailing to the west from Spain along the coast of upper India believed that part which belongs to upper India to be an island, which he resolved should be called from his own name. But now other later hydrographers have found that land farther on, on the other side, to be continuous with Asia, for so they have come even to the Molucca Islands of upper India.

We read that this portion bordering upon upper Asia was explored before our times, besides Ptolemy, by Marco Polo a Venetian, and very many others. Petrus Cardinalis Cameracensis (Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai and Cardinal) also in that book which he wrote, *De Imagine Mundi*, lays it down in Chap. 19, that the ocean which extends between the boundaries of farther Spain, i. e. of Africa on the west and the beginning of India on the east is of no great breadth, for it has been found that this sea is navigable in a very few days, if the wind is fair, and therefore that that beginning of India on the east cannot be far distant from the end of Africa. So much for him.

*Concerning the regions not described by Ptolemy.*

*Chap. XX.*

The regions which are beyond the descriptions of Ptolemy have not as yet been handed down by any positive authors, nor described even with as great care. From the east whatever is beyond the Sinæ and Seræ and beyond 180° of longitude, remained wholly unknown to Ptolemy. But after Ptolemy beyond 180° east, many regions were discovered by a certain Marco Polo, a Venetian, and others; but now by Columbus the Genoese and Americus Vesputius [who] explored merely the coast; sailing thither from Spain through the western ocean [and] deeming that part of the earth an island, called it America, a fourth part of the globe. But now through the most recent navigations made in the year after Christ, 1519, by Magellan, admiral (or commander) of the ships of the most invincible Cæsar, the Emperor Charles, &c., towards the Molucca Isles,

which others call Maluquas, situated in the extreme east, they have discovered that land to be continuous with upper India, which is part of Asia; in which are immense kingdoms, large rivers and many other wonderful things concerning which we made mention in part before. But there are the regions of this portion of the earth, namely Bachalaos, called from a new kind of fish there, &c.

I may add that Schöner not only here expresses the belief that the whole of the new world was a part of Asia (*superioris Indiæ*), but that the city of Mexico (Temistitan) conquered by Cortes, was no other than the Chinese commercial city of Quinsay, so excessively extolled by Marco Polo. (See also Humboldt, *Cosmos*, II., 613.)

I may also add that Schöner's geography, so far as it relates to the new world, is a good description or interpretation of the map or globe of Oronce Fine of 1531, published at Paris in 1532, in the *Novus Orbis*.

I am glad to see hanging on the wall of the room in which we are now assembled, a copy of a map known as the map of Sebastian Cabot—one of a very few copies taken last year from the only original extant, in the National Library in Paris. This map, made in the year 1544, has a special interest for us here, as it well represents the progress made in the right direction by the most advanced and best informed cartographers at this period. We see the continent of America accurately laid down, with the isthmus connecting the two main portions, while the western coast on the Pacific is carried up as far as the discoveries made in that quarter by Alarcon and Castillo in 1541, that is about 35° N.,—of course all beyond this was unknown, and is so represented. The problem whether the continents of America and Asia were connected far north by one continuous mass of land, or were separated by a strait, was not solved till 1728, when Behring discovered the strait which bears his name; though the fabulous Anian Strait found a place on some maps in that region before that time.

You will have noticed, Mr. PRESIDENT, that Schöner here says that Americus Vesputius resolved that the new country by which he sailed should be named after his own name, "America." This charge against Vesputius is here made in print for the first time, and from that period down to recent date obloquy has been heaped upon him for robbing Columbus of his rightful dues. We all know to-day that there is no evidence on which to found such a charge; indeed, we know all the circumstances under which the name was proposed and the gradual steps by which it gained currency. The suggestion first appeared in a little book I now hold in my hand, containing a narrative of the four alleged voyages of Vesputius, with an introduction by the editor, Waltze-Müller (Martinus Hylacomylus), of Freiburg, the director of a printing establishment at St. Dié in Lorraine, where this book was printed in 1507, under the title of "*Cosmographiæ Introductio*," &c. The editor here, after describing various parts of the old world, says:—

"But now that those parts have been more extensively examined and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vesputius (as will be seen in the sequel) I do not see why we should rightly refuse to name it America, namely, the land of Americus, or America, after its discoverer Americus, a man of sagacious mind, since both Europe and Asia took their names from women."

This name, as is well known, was applied to South America, which Vesputius visited. I can barely allude here to these points, as a critical history of this book of Hylacomylus would require a large space, and is beyond my present purpose. There is no evidence that Vesputius previously knew of the suggestion of his name; Humboldt, who has examined at length the charge against him, says, "it is devoid of foundation." (*Cosmos*, ed. Otté, II., 676, 680. London, 1849; see also D'Avezac, *Martin Hylacomylus Waltzemüller ses ouvrages et ses collaborateurs*, Paris, 1867).

JUSTIN WINSOR, Esq., referring to Mr. DEANE's statement that the Cabot map of 1544 was a very early representation of the continental character of America, mentioned the diverse views which were entertained by the early geographers regarding the regions discovered by the Spaniards. There was of course the notion that these regions were islands lying off the coast of Marco Polo's Asia, and this view we find expressed in the *La Cosa* (1500) and the *Ruysch* (1508) maps. Then in the order of time came a belief that while South America was of continental proportions, North America was an archipelago, of somewhat uncertain character. This was the opinion expressed by the maker of the *Lenox* globe, by *Da Vinci* (if he were the draughtsman) in the MS. map in the *Queen's Collection* at *Windsor*, and by *Sylvanus* in the 1511 edition of *Ptolemy*. Others made North America a part of Asia, while South America stood distinct. This is the view taken by the *Monk Franciscus* (1526), by the maker of the map in the *Sloane collection* (1530), by *Orontius Finæus* (1532), and shown in the *Nancy Globe*, and accepted even by a few geographers down to the very close of that century. Another class of cartographers avoided the question of the connection of North America with Asia, by cutting off the westerly extension by the edge of the paper, as in the *Portuguese chart* at *Munich* and in the *St. Die map* of 1513. Thirty years before Cabot hesitated as to the continental character of North America, *Stobnicza* boldly put North America down as a distinct barrier. What the *St. Die* geographers had concealed by the edge of their paper, this Polish cartographer emphatically proclaimed, not indeed with a precision of outline westwardly, but his rendering of the problem can scarcely admit of any but a continental interpretation to the new lands. The type which he thus conceived at *Cracow* was implicitly followed by *Reisch* (1515), the maker of the *Tross gores*, *Apian* in *Camer's Solinus* (1520), *Schöner* in his globes (1515 and 1520), *Münster*

(1532), and Honter (1542)—not to name others. This boldness was accompanied by a cautionary reaction in some, as shown in such maps as those of Verrazzano, Thorne, Ribero, Homem, Agnese and many others, who while insisting on a distinct continental condition for the new world, left vague its western extension. It was not till 1540 and 1541 that Münster and Mercator respectively begun to indicate with something like definiteness a western coast, separate throughout from Asia. Cabot was not willing to go so far; and in his 1544 map, he leaves the geography wholly uncertain above the peninsula of California. Cabot's caution was probably justified by the want of positive knowledge. At least no testimony is known to us which authorized Münster and Mercator to draw the western coast as they did. It would be unsafe to say that no testimony was known to them to warrant such drafts.

Rev. Dr. HALE at this point, spoke of the great map recently brought to light by Mr. Harrisse, which will be published in his new life of Cortereal. This map appears to be the basis on which the coast shore of the United States is drawn, for instance, in the early editions of Ptolemy, long before the pretended voyage of Verrazzano. The coast line here given is probably derived from accounts of Portuguese navigators, who knew that they were passing beyond the meridian of demarcation which parted the rights of their sovereign from those of the King of Spain.

Mr. WINSOR said he doubted if the map of which Mr. Harrisse had announced the publication in Paris was going to yield anything new. He supposed it to be the same map which Harrisse had described in his recent book on the Cabots, as found in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, and the same which Ongania in Venice had announced for publication a year or two ago, under the editing of Prof. Fischer of Kiel. If the map is what Mr. WINSOR supposed it to be, it may be safely affirmed it yields nothing that was not already known to students of our early cartography,



unless some importance attaches to the date 1502, said to be upon it. The type of map which it is supposed to represent, is well known, and is shown more or less completely both in the Portuguese chart in the Munich library, of which Kunstmann has given a reproduction, and in the so-called "Admiral's map," which, engraved as early as 1507, was perhaps published separately not long after, and again in the 1513 edition of Ptolemy. There has been no doubt among students of this department, that both the Munich and the Admiral's map represented Portuguese explorations variously fixed between 1501 and 1504. Lelewel explicitly so represented it thirty years ago. At the most the date which scholars have long ago reached by deduction, this new map shows marked upon it. That seems to be its only sign of importance,—at least so far as one can judge by the description, for the book on the *Cortereals*, which is to contain it, has not yet reached this country.

MR. DEANE said he had no doubt that the result of Mr. WINSOR's studies of the early maps would confirm the views he had here expressed.

REV. EDWARD G. PORTER described briefly a visit he had made during the past summer to Castine, Maine, which he referred to as the scene of the ill-fated Penobscot expedition of Massachusetts in 1779. He presented a four-pound shot, which was lately found on Nautilus island opposite Castine; also a photographic likeness of Israel Trask who stood behind "Trask's Rock," a large boulder on the beach, near Dice's Head, and played the fife during the landing of the troops under General Lovell, July 28, 1779. Mr. PORTER spoke of the numerous earthworks on the promontory of Castine as being in a state of excellent preservation. In conclusion he presented a photograph of the copper-plate found in 1864 in the old French Fort near the town.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of this plate with its Latin inscription, dated 1648, see *Proceedings Am. Antiq. Soc.* for April, 1864.

Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., said he had in his possession a cannon ball he had picked up on Bunker Hill in 1834, which he would be glad to present to the Society, and Dr. ELLIS related the finding by himself of two such balls, and a large number of army buttons, mostly of the 32d Regiment. These were found between Breed's and Bunker's Hills, where as he supposed the British dead were buried.

The Society voted thanks to each and all of the gentlemen who had contributed papers, or made remarks thereon, or added interesting articles to its collections; and the papers were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

*Recording Secretary.*

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

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THE Council respectfully present to the American Antiquarian Society a report for the seventy-first anniversary. The report of Nathaniel Paine, Esq., Treasurer, to the Council, is presented as a lucid statement of the finances of the Society in the care of that able and faithful officer, who is equally distinguished by his antiquarian labors. This report, approved by the Auditors, requires little comment. The aggregate of funds, \$77,181.31, with a diminished and decreasing income, will appear insufficient for the increasing labors and expenses occasioned by the enlargement and more active use of the library. In our past experience, these exigencies have been supplied by self-sacrifice, voluntary work and timely gifts. But there is a limit to this. The most urgent need is in the Publication Fund; and this presents itself in such a "questionable shape," that we will hope for favorable responses as in time past. An incident that occurred when the Treasurer was finishing his report, encourages us to rely on the good-will of our friends. He pleasantly mentions the gift of one hundred dollars for the Publishing Fund from our associate, Rev. Robert C. Waterston, to whom the Society has been repeatedly indebted for contributions of his learning and taste to aid its progress.

The report of Mr. Edmund M. Barton, the Librarian, to the Council, is presented as an interesting and satisfactory account of his department. It would be unnecessary and unfair to select the attractive details for the improvement of this communication, but there is occasion for a few remarks. The library must be considered, first in its

operation, and second in its condition and its growth. It is, in an uncommon degree, the heart of our society; the fountain of its life and action. Most of the numerous valuable writings published by the Society are connected with the library in the way of suggestion or assistance. Much of the time and pains of Mr. Barton and of Mr. Reuben Colton, the Assistant-Librarian, has been employed in directing, supplying and corresponding with investigators, in addition to the duty of producing books that are asked for. The simple statement of Mr. Barton, that there were more investigators in the library this summer than ever before in the warm season, indicates a large amount of patient and generous labor. Such investigations can be noticed only in general terms; for it would be offensive and injurious to expose to the public the private studies of scholars. It is known to the Council that the Librarians have been cheered in this work by grateful acknowledgment of such benefits as the effect of a contemporary map to illustrate one of the earliest battles of our colonies, or of a forgotten book that gave a new or a stronger light to a passage of history.

The little book containing a "Partial Index to the Proceedings," by Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., and "a table of the contents" of the *Archæologia Americana* and other separate publications of the Society, by Mr. Nathaniel Paine, brings into light the forgotten fruit of faithful antiquarian study. It is brief and partial for economy and convenience. But it is large enough to make the Society and its doings better known.

It is the happiness of this Society that it has been recognized as an institution useful and worthy of support by those who have not the duties of membership. In the last half-year there has been given by members ninety-one books and seven hundred and eleven pamphlets; by friends three hundred and eighty-two books and one thousand three hundred and four pamphlets.

The good that Hon. Isaac Davis did to the Society, lived after him in the generous gift from his family of one thousand three hundred and four valuable books from his library, and other desirable objects mentioned by the Librarian.

In the last month this Society had the privilege of applying the legacy of \$5,000, from John J. Cooke, Esq., of Providence, R. I., to the purchase of books at the second auction sale of his costly library. After careful study and marking of the sale catalogue by the Librarians, with the assistance of Mr. Nathaniel Paine, Mr. Barton bought seven hundred good and needed volumes in excellent editions. It is said the third and last sale will offer the American books, which are most interesting to us. The scheme adopted by Mr. Cooke to distribute his rich library where it will do most good, by the privilege of purchase to the amount of \$5,000, given to ten institutions, works smoothly, and promises to accomplish the best results.

In the last six months this Society has received from various sources mentioned in the Librarian's report, three thousand and two bound volumes, three thousand two hundred and sixteen pamphlets, and one hundred and nine volumes of newspapers. The time has come when those who have entertained the ambition for the size of our library, must give it up. It is not easy to find the best places for the last accession. The building cannot be extended without difficulty. The growth of a library is not an unmixed good. It is possible to put many books on shelves above the alcoves, but it is not possible to use them freely there. It is an old notion with us, and it has recently been made popular, that a library like silver has no beauty, "*nisi temperato splendeat usu.*" The books in our library are so well selected and they are so connected together, that they cannot be reduced by decimation. The necessity of growth to the life of a library, and other considerations, invite us to a discussion for which there is

no time. The evil threatens those who come after us, and their wisdom may devise a remedy.

In the last six months this Society had occasion to take notice of the finished work of two respected associates. On May 12, 1883, Hon. Israel Washburn, Jr., LL.D., of Portland, Maine, died suddenly of heart disease at Philadelphia, where he was receiving medical treatment for his impaired health. He was born in Livermore, Maine, June 6, 1813. He was a worthy member of a family distinguished for enterprise and success in business, and for public service. He began mature life as a lawyer, and it is said he was successful; but he was soon engaged in productive business, and was called to public duties. He had a high reputation for integrity, good judgment and administrative ability. After serving in the Legislature of his State, he was a member of Congress from 1851 to 1861, and was recognized as a leader there. From 1861 to 1863, the most anxious period of the late civil war, he was the Governor of Maine, and he has a brilliant record for giving efficiency to the patriotic contributions of that State by labors that were supposed to be the cause of the decay of his health in his last years. He accepted membership in this Society in April, 1882, with cordiality, and sent to the library his valuable published writings, chiefly historical and prepared for the Maine Historical Society. His brief membership gives us only the satisfaction of remembering him as a collateral worker and an honorable associate.

Hon. John Denison Baldwin, A.M., who died at his home in Worcester, on the 8th of July last, had a threefold connection with this Society. 1st. He was the successor of Dr. Isaiah Thomas, our founder, in being a proprietor and an able and prosperous editor of the *Massachusetts Spy*,<sup>1</sup> a weekly newspaper established by Dr. Thomas in 1770, when he was twenty-one years old, to sustain the

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<sup>1</sup> A daily edition, the *Worcester Daily Spy*, was established by the late John Milton Earle, July 22, 1845, and is still issued.

patriotism of the country, and Mr. Baldwin carried it on with the same purpose. 2d. Mr. Baldwin displayed his kinship with us, by his volumes on Prehistoric Man and Ancient America, the fruit of antiquarian studies of which he was fond. 3d. Since he was elected a member in 1869, he has made valuable additions to this library, from his opportunities as a publisher; and in 1878 on occasion of the reinterment of Dr. Thomas, he gave a very interesting account of the first years of his newspaper.

Mr. Baldwin was born in North Stonington, Conn., September 28, 1809. He studied as an undergraduate and in the Divinity School of Yale College, and afterwards received from that learned institution, the honorary degree of Master of Arts. His education was obtained with difficulty, but it was well grounded and progressive. He was a calm and forcible reasoner. In speech he was not fluent or graceful, but the language of his pen was distinct and persuasive. His large frame and grave utterance did not promise the variety and adaptation that were found in his life and writings. He began as a clergyman, and preached in a Methodist church, and successively in three Congregational churches, where he is remembered with respect and satisfaction. In the Legislature of Connecticut, as Chairman of the Committee on Education, he introduced the bill to incorporate the first Normal school of that State. His published writings were various, and among them was a volume of poems printed in his youth. His duties in the Legislature led him to acquaint himself with political management and to engage in journalism, for which he had great capacity. He was a member of Congress for six years of faithful service. He returned home to occupy the decline of his life with editorial labors for his time-honored journal, and with historical studies and writings, in which he took much pleasure.

In conformity with custom, the Council will add, as an expression of active sympathy in the studies of the

Society, a suggestion of the true nature of an incident in the life of Alexander Hamilton. For the accuracy of this the writer only is responsible.

Alexander Hamilton was distinguished for so many and so various great qualities that he stands out among the most remarkable men of his time. His pride led him to defy enemies; his ability was so joined to attractive manners and friendship for the worthy who were in distress, that he drew to himself the strongest affection of his friends. He had so nice a sense of propriety in pecuniary affairs that though he could ill spare it, he gave up his own claim on the United States for half-pay at the end of the war, that he might be the more free to support the just demands of his comrades and associates. Washington had been one of the first to discern his superior abilities, and gave him a place in his military family, and retained for him affection and confidence to the last hour of his life. No one has paid in words so full a tribute to his merits as Washington has done, or drawn his character so well. The bar of New York esteemed him in his day, as its ablest member; his political friends in the State of New York looked to him always for ideas, if not always for wisest practical counsel. Scarce another of his time was so remarkable in the variety of the pursuits in which he excelled, using well the sword, the pen, and the voice. He stands before the world as in his day the most genial representative of the opinions which he supported; at the same time his articles in the *Federalist* interpreting the federal constitution, are marked by moderation. It is one of the beautiful elements of his character that, though, as he says himself, he was perhaps of all who accepted the Federal Constitution the one that liked it the least, his patriotism led him to be one of its ablest and firmest and most effective defenders.

Hamilton has a peculiar right to be judged by all parties not with candor only but with the wish that every investigation about him may turn out to his honor. When an



attempt was made to thwart the will of the country by the defeat of Jefferson after he had been elected to the Presidency, and when the federalists had carried their resistance to excess, Hamilton broke away from them and employed all his force of will and power of persuasion on the side of Jefferson; bearing testimony from his own personal knowledge that he would not in his administration give up one tittle of the power that justly belonged to the federal government. For this he was pursued with the bitter and inflexible hatred of the man whose iniquitous aspirations he assisted to defeat, and who at last found an opportunity to assuage persistent hatred in his blood.

On the sixteenth of February, 1781, Alexander Hamilton ceased to be a member of the family of General Washington. The real cause of his retirement was his impatience at being in a situation where his labors were constant and engrossing but entirely private and obscure, giving him no opportunity whatever to distinguish himself "conspicuously" in the war. His labors were entirely those of the closet, attracting no public attention and followed by no general applause. The manner in which he performed his duties justifies Washington's judgment of his ability. The Marquis de Chastellux<sup>1</sup> told all that needed to be told on the subject, when he said that Washington in selecting

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<sup>1</sup> Le Colonel Hamilton, né à Sainte-Croix, et depuis quelque tems établi en Amérique, se destinoit à la profession des Loix, et avoit à peine achevé ses études, lorsque le Général Washington, instruit comme tous les grands-hommes, à découvrir les talens et à les employer, le fit à-la-fois son Aide-de-Camp et son Secrétaire, place aussi éminente qu'importante dans l'armée Américaine. Dès lors la correspondance avec les François, dont il parle et écrit parfaitement bien la langue, les détails de toute espece, politiques et militaires dont il fut chargé, développèrent les talens que le Général avoit su appercevoir et mettre en activité, tandis que le jeune militaire justifioit par une prudence et un secret encore plus au-dessus de son âge que ses lumieres, la confiance dont il se trouvoit honoré. Il avoit toujours continué de servir en cette qualité, lorsqu'en 1781, desirant de se distinguer dans le commandement des troupes, comme dans les autres fonctions qu'il avoit exercées, il prit celui d'un bataillon d'infanterie légère. Voyages de M. Le Marquis de Chastellux Dans L'Amérique Septentrionale, Dans les années 1780, 1781 et 1782. Seconde Edition. Tome Premier. A Paris, 1788. Pp. 311, 312, n.

Hamilton for his staff proved his quickness to discern superior ability, and that Hamilton justified the choice by his prudence, secrecy, and intelligence. The letters and papers which Hamilton prepared as secretary of the commander-in-chief are considerable in number, but not disproportionate to the length of time in which he served as secretary. He filled up Washington's idea of a good secretary, as one who should not be simply a copyist but able "to think"<sup>1</sup> for his employer. To a person who did not feel the craving for acting in the eye of the public, the position of Hamilton would have been as desirable as it was honorable; but the work as we know from himself, was performed with ever increasing disgust and discontent. Here lies the true and it may be said complete statement of the causes of Hamilton's retirement from the family of Washington. It was the result of a long continued condition of restless impatience to gain a name in the world by public action in the light of day. Any inquiry about the particular state of that feeling at any particular moment is needless. Chastellux in the passage above cited, says all that needs to be said on the subject. Hamilton in 1781 was "desirous of distinguishing himself in the command of troops."

But, since it has been attempted to give a different coloring to the incident, it is proper to view it in all the light that can be brought to bear on it.

And here a difficulty arises in the beginning. Hamilton requested Washington to preserve silence on the manner of their parting, promising to do the like. Washington acceded to the request, and not a word among his papers is to be found on the subject; yet letters enough exist to show the state of mind and feelings of Hamilton. And besides, when the editor of Washington's writings was with Lafayette at La Grange, long before the Life of Hamilton

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<sup>1</sup> Sparks's Washington, III., 258.

by John C. Hamilton appeared, the General set the subject in its true light for the guidance of Washington's future biographer.

With the use of authentic papers and the communication of Lafayette who passed repeatedly between Washington and Hamilton, the occurrence may be traced from its origin.

On the fourteenth of October, 1780, Greene was appointed to the command in the South. Hamilton spoke to Washington "about going to the South." On the twenty-second of November of that year Hamilton wrote to Washington: "Dear Sir, Some time last fall, when I spoke to your Excellency about going to the southward, I explained to you candidly my feelings with respect to military reputation, and how much it was my object to act a conspicuous part in some enterprise that might raise my character as a soldier above mediocrity. You were so good as to say you would be glad to furnish me with an occasion. When the expedition to Staten Island was on foot, a favorable one seemed to offer. There was a battalion without a Field-Officer, the command of which I thought, as it was accidental, might be given to me without inconvenience. I made an application for it through the Marquis, who informed me of your refusal, on two principles; one, that giving me a whole battalion might be a subject of dissatisfaction; the other, that, if an accident should happen to me in the present state of your family, you would be embarrassed for the necessary assistance.

The project you now have in contemplation, affords another opportunity. I have a variety of reasons that press me to desire ardently to have it in my power to improve it."<sup>1</sup>

Nothing came of this third application. Just at that time the office of adjutant-general became vacant. Hamil-

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<sup>1</sup> Sparks's Washington, III., 152.

ton himself recommended to Washington Brigadier-general Hand for the station.<sup>1</sup> Lafayette who had been Hamilton's very intimate friend agreeably to the ideas of the world, had increased his friendship to a "point that the world knows nothing about." In the conversation between the two, Lafayette promised to use his influence with Washington to obtain the post of adjutant-general for Hamilton; and he sent to Hamilton an outline of the letter of solicitation which on the twenty-eighth of November he addressed to Washington. In that letter he recommended the appointment of Hand or Smith, naming Hand first, but yet, on every public and private account advised him to take Hamilton. But while Lafayette was writing his letter Washington had left New Windsor for Morristown, where he fell in with Hand, at once made him the offer of the place, and in consequence of his acceptance wrote the letter to Congress for his appointment on or before the day on which Lafayette had written his letter in favor of Hamilton. Lafayette himself met Washington before his letter had been received; and he showed his friendship for Hamilton by asking the commander-in-chief to recall the appointment which, however, he very well knew to be a good one. Washington refused to recall it, and to Greene who had interested himself on the occasion, he soon afterward thus assigned his reasons:

"Without knowing that Colonel Hamilton ever had an eye to the office of adjutant-general, I did, upon the application of Colonel Scammell to resign it, recommend General Hand for reasons which may occur to you. One of them, and not the smallest, was, by having an officer of rank appointed, to guard against the discontents, which would have arisen in the inspector's department, if a junior officer to the present sub-inspectors had been appointed; for you know, that, by the present establishment of the

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<sup>1</sup> Works of Hamilton, I., 199. "Greatly in consequence of your advice." Lafayette to Hamilton, 9 December, 1780.

inspection, the adjutant-general for the time being is the second officer in the line. It would have been disagreeable therefore to the present sub-inspectors, some of whom are full colonels, to have a lieutenant-colonel put over them."<sup>1</sup>

There was every reason in favor of the preference of Hand. He had been about a year longer in the service than Hamilton, had as colonel commanded the regiment in which Hamilton was a captain, had served with ability and distinction, and had obtained the rank of brigadier-general. Lafayette perceived the mistake he had himself made and owned it to Hamilton, saying: "I may have been a little blinded on the propriety of the measure."

Here were four disappointments in rapid succession, but where General Washington appears to have acted in every case with justice and wisdom. Another disappointment followed from the action of Congress who unwisely withheld from him a position to which he had superior claims. A mission was to be sent to France to request aid for the army and it was held that the envoy should be a member of Washington's staff. Hamilton was the ablest member of that staff, and moreover, spoke and wrote French thoroughly well. Lafayette exerted himself to obtain this appointment for Hamilton; he paid visits to members of Congress; and was so certain of success that he prepared to send an express to Hamilton so soon as his appointment should be made. So sure of it was he, that he promised Hamilton to prepare for him an unusual reception in Paris and give him all the introductions that he could to the society of the ablest and most important of the statesmen of France, and to the members of the highest circle in social life in its capital.<sup>2</sup>

"But Colonel Hamilton was not sufficiently known to Congress to unite their suffrages in his favor;"<sup>3</sup> so wrote

<sup>1</sup> Sparks's *Washington*, VII., 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Hamilton's Works*, I., 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Laurens to Washington*, 11 December, 1780; *J. C. Hamilton's History of the Republic*, II., 144.

Laurens to Washington. No member of Congress appears to have pressed Hamilton's appointment. Laurens was supported by all the influence that belonged to his father, who was of South Carolina and had been president of Congress, and he himself was most heartily loved by everybody that knew him. He was accordingly selected for the place almost without competition. Hamilton suppressed every complaint; and was one of the foremost to announce to Laurens his satisfaction with the choice, but ever-increasing discontent was finding its way into his heart. He brooded with bitterness on the thought that he had, as it were, concealed his ability in a kind of service that had one part of its merit in being secret. A feeling of morbid displeasure with himself for having left the line grew stronger and stronger within him. There rose in his mind the suspicion that there was something of selfishness in Washington, as though he was disposed to retain him as his secretary for the very reason that he did his work so well. It is on this state of things that Lafayette threw a clear light by explaining to Sparks as the future historian of Washington, that Hamilton in the routine of his duty, repeatedly in his intercourse with the commander-in-chief passed beyond the bounds of the respect that was his due.

With this knowledge of Hamilton's state of mind let us turn to Hamilton's account of the parting interview, the only account that exists of it. He relates that meeting him on the stairs, the General told him he wanted to speak to him. Hamilton instead of waiting to receive the orders of the commander-in-chief brushed on saying he would wait upon him immediately. He went below, delivered a letter to another officer, and fell in with the Marquis de Lafayette with whom he conversed on a matter of business for what he represents as "about a minute." He found Washington still waiting for him at the head of the stairs after an absence of ten minutes, which Hamilton professes to have thought but two. Washington accosted him, saying: "I

must tell you, sir, you treat me with disrespect," and he certainly had treated him with wilful disrespect, and, as he and Washington knew and as Lafayette reports, had done it several times before.<sup>1</sup> The reproof of the young aide-de-camp who had repeatedly slighted the commander-in-chief, was deserved and was necessary, and was given in very moderate terms. Hamilton, who not long before had received from Washington a letter which began, "My dear Hamilton," and ended, "sincerely and affectionately yours," replied: "I am not conscious of it, sir, but since you have thought it necessary to tell me so, we part."

Hamilton was still in the petulant humor which he had manifested before, and as he left Washington went directly to Lafayette to give him an account of the interview.<sup>2</sup>

The narrative of Hamilton which has been published, professes to be not from a letter but only from a draft; and no one knows what variations from that draft Hamilton may have made in copying it for the eye of his father-in-law. General Schuyler appears to have destroyed the letter which he received; for after thorough search made many years ago, it could not be found among his papers; nor is

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<sup>1</sup> Extract of a letter from Jared Sparks to George Bancroft:

*"Cambridge, April 14, 1859.*

As to Lafayette's account of Hamilton's difference with Washington, I find it agrees mainly with Hamilton's letter to Schuyler. (*Life*, I., 883.) I understood, however, that there had been neglect previously to the incident on the stairs, which would account for Washington's abrupt and unusual manner on that occasion. Lafayette said that he urged Hamilton to return to his post, and let the affair subside; but this he declined, adding that he had wanted to retire for some time, and was willing to have an opportunity. It is known that Hamilton had urged Washington to give him a command in the army, but this was delayed on the ground that it could not then be done without interfering with the claims of other officers. Ambitious of being in a higher sphere than that of aide-de-camp, and suspicious that Washington designed to retain him in that place for the benefit of his services, he became impatient, and this seems to have been the real cause of his disaffection.

Very truly yours,

JARED SPARKS."

<sup>2</sup> Compare Irving's *Life of Washington*, IV., 280, 281. Henry Cabot Lodge: *Life of Hamilton*, 21, and 297.

the draft to be found among the Hamilton papers, that are in the possession of the United States.

The first remark is, that the printed paper is one which Hamilton himself preserved. Washington, the other party of the interview, having at the request of Hamilton kept silent as to the circumstances of the rupture, Hamilton was bound to do the same. He committed a grave error in preserving for other generations a copy of his own statement, privately and one might say secretly made, after he had imposed silence upon the person with whom he had held the interview.<sup>1</sup>

Next: Hamilton in making his excuses to his father-in-law is not altogether ingenuous; he does not give as a reason that he was anxious to "play a conspicuous part as a military man;" and he introduces a statement of his own antecedent mental deliberations which there does not seem the least reason for him to have made.

Further, Lafayette, the very first<sup>2</sup> person to whom Hamilton related what had happened, Tilghman, and every other one of his friends whom he made privy to the affair, including his own father-in-law, advised him to go back and resume his place as secretary.

If we look outside of the record and ask whether it may have been expected of Washington that in reproving

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<sup>1</sup> Lafayette to Washington, 15 April, 1781. "Considering the footing I am upon with your Excellency, it would appear to you strange, that I never mentioned a circumstance, which lately happened in your family. I was the first who knew of it, and from that moment exerted every means in my power to prevent a separation, which I knew was not agreeable to your Excellency. To this measure I was prompted by affection for you; but I thought it was improper to mention anything about it, until you were pleased to impart it to me."

Washington's reply to Lafayette. "Head-Quarters, 22 April, 1781. The event, which you seem to speak of with regret, my friendship for you would most assuredly have induced me to impart to you in the moment it happened, had it not been for the request of Hamilton, who desired that no mention should be made of it. Why this injunction on me, while he was communicating it himself, is a little extraordinary. But I complied and religiously fulfilled it." Sparks's Washington, VIII., 22, and note.

<sup>2</sup> Sparks's Washington, VIII., 22, note.



Hamilton he would have proceeded beyond the bounds of propriety, it must be answered, that if there be any one quality ascribed to Washington universally by every one, friends or those not his friends, it is that he was perfectly amiable. I have had in my hands thousands of letters written during the period of the revolutionary war, and in no one of them is there the least approach to a complaint of a want of perfect courtesy on the part of Washington. The camp is itself the great school of self-possession and reserve and reciprocal courtesy. To that Washington super-added the greatest possible kindness of nature. There is no record of a complaint from any one on this score, except General Lee whom Washington publicly reproved and as publicly insisted that the language which he used in reproof was that of decorum and duty.

As to Hamilton's services as secretary nobody is disposed to undervalue them, but as to whether he was a subordinate or a primal mover, the *experimentum crucis* decides the question; for no one who takes up Washington's papers, and in this opinion the editor of his writings perfectly agreed, can tell where Hamilton's services as secretary began or where they ended. From his abrupt departure from Washington's family he lost for himself the opportunity of having been consulted, when Washington made the magnanimous appeal to all the States in favor of union; an appeal of which Hamilton at the time did not comprehend the grandeur and the importance. For his fame in after life the early service in Washington's immediate vicinity was needed; for by it he learned to watch from the central point the course of events throughout the United States, and so was in the best school of preparation for the public service.

For the Council.

GEORGE BANCROFT,  
STEPHEN SALISBURY,  
*Committee.*

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

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AN examination of the list of Donors and Donations hereto annexed shows an increased activity in this department, for which we have reason to be thankful. Forty-seven members, sixty-six societies and institutions, and ninety-seven persons not members of the Society have given twenty-six hundred and forty-two books, thirty-one hundred and twenty-six pamphlets, one hundred and nine files of newspapers, one hundred and two prints, fifty-one engravings, thirty-one maps, thirty photographs, sixteen manuscripts, one Japanese chair, a collection of shells, and various broadsides. We have bought one hundred and seventy-nine books and thirty-seven pamphlets; have received by exchange fifty-eight books and fifty-three pamphlets; and from the binder one hundred and twenty-three volumes. Thus it will be seen that from two hundred and ten sources we acknowledge three thousand and two books, thirty-two hundred and sixteen pamphlets, and one hundred and nine files of newspapers; a semi-annual accession which has not been surpassed either in quantity or quality since the days of Isaiah Thomas.

The newspapers sent by Ellis Ames, Esq., and Dr. Samuel A. Green, with their other contributions, contain important historical material which might be cut out, put into book form and bound. As this is necessarily a destructive process, and we are gatherers of newspaper literature, we continue our custom of placing them entire in their local habitations ready for binding. Many of these articles are worthy of entry in our Card Catalogue, and through the courtesy of some of our painstaking collectors will doubtless find place upon our shelves. Dr. Green's gift supplies us with the works of William Warren

Tucker, and Book Second of Suffolk Deeds. In November, 1872, after many years of laborious research Dr. George Chandler published his Genealogical Dictionary of the Chandler Family and its ramifications. In the same month of that year, the edition, with the exception of forty-one copies given to sundry public institutions—including our own—was destroyed in the great Boston Fire. In the spirit of the passage of Ovid from which the motto of our seal is taken (*nec ignis*, etc.), Dr. Chandler with his quiet energy has prepared and published an enlarged and corrected edition of the work for the use of the family, and has presented a copy for our Library. He has also given some manuscript material partly printed in the book, and Bowen's History of the Connecticut Boundary Disputes. Admiral George H. Preble sends his exhaustive History of Steam Navigation and several of his minor works. He has also contributed to the Publishing Fund by the purchase of sundry proceedings of the Society. Our associate, Mr. Samuel S. Green, has had bound and placed upon our shelves a collection of his own publications. Dr. Charles O. Thompson has furnished us with his inaugural address and other material relating to the Rose Polytechnic School, and a photograph of the Columbus portrait discovered last year by Señor Martinez Eubells, and now in the museum at Madrid. This portrait, as is well known, is quite unlike the half-dozen others already upon our walls. A cash order for duplicate books and pamphlets accompanied Professor Thompson's donation. Drs. Otto Keller and Heinrich Fischer, of our German membership, have increased the collection of their learned papers already in our possession. Robert Clarke, Esq., has not only sent us contributions of his historical publications, but his first large order for books relating to America. The call was timely, as our duplicate shelves were overflowing. Without intending to advertise our own treasures, we may be justified in saying that his

next catalogue of Americana will indicate to members and others some of the treasures which may be gathered from our duplicate room. Fortunately for both buyer and seller, our Council and Library Committee do not object to the sale or exchange of duplicates. Lyman C. Draper, LL.D., sends his "King's Mountain Heroes" as a small expression of his "gratitude to your grand old Society for favors and honors." J. Fletcher Williams, Esq., who was recently elected to membership in the Society from Minnesota, has gathered material relating to that State which he desires the Society to accept as a "thank offering" for the honor conferred. Both gift and example are noteworthy and valuable. Mrs. Samuel F. Haven, executrix, has sent a second instalment of books, about one hundred in number, to be placed in the Haven Alcove. The privilege of substituting for duplicates, books of a like or greater value would seem here to be entirely proper, though in the case of a library carefully gathered by a specialist such action might be of doubtful expediency. The purchase of book plates for use in both the Haven and Thomas alcoves may be worthy of consideration. Messrs. James A. Leete and Robert O. McCrillis have deposited in the alcove of Genealogy the histories of their respective families; and Mr. Alfred S. Roe has made further progress in supplying us with Methodist magazines, Hymnology and Books of Discipline. A report recently received from Mr. Silas Farmer, historiographer of the city of Detroit, suggests what might be accomplished if such an office were not only created but well filled in every city and town of our land. In this connection it may be worthy of note that in one of the smaller New England towns, at the beginning of the late war, a committee was appointed to preserve in detail material for a War History. This work was so well done that each man of the town's quota was accounted for and facts thereby furnished for a full and accurate military record. Z. B. Adams, M.D., of Fram-

ingham, Mass., in forwarding the Taylor Papers relating to Worcester County, says: "I am authorized to make what disposition I choose of these papers and have chosen your Society as the proper custodian of them." Our thanks are due to Elliott H. Peabody, Esq., at the Court House near the Library, for many years willing service as Notary Public. We shall not be obliged to call upon him so frequently hereafter, since a vigorous appeal to the Collector of Customs at New York has brought us authority to file our Act of Incorporation as a certificate of right under the law to receive books and other literary material duty free. For the information of foreign members and correspondents we give a copy of the order. "Your institution having filed at this office the proof required on free entry of books by mail, I have now to suggest that you cause all books intended for the *sole use* of the 'American Antiquarian Society,' of Worcester, Mass., to be *addressed to said Society, or in care of its proper officers*; thereby avoiding the assessment of duty on, or delay in the free delivery of such books." Capt. George Albert Raikes, of London, presents his valuable history of the Honourable Artillery Company and his history of the First Militia Regiment. Mrs. Erminnie A. Smith forwards by our Treasurer a manuscript sermon in the Mohawk language, preached by one of the French Canadian Fathers; and William Heywood, Esq., sends by our First Vice-President the account book kept from 1761 to 1785, by his ancestor and namesake, William Heywood, of Charlestown, N. H., while a surveyor in the region of the "Wentworth Grant." We have received from the Virginia Historical Society volume III. of the new series of their Collections, being volume I. of the Dinwiddie Papers. It appears that these scattered records, covering the years 1752 to 1757 inclusive, were brought together by Mr. Henry Stevens, of whom they were bought by William W. Corcoran, Esq., who not only presents them to the Virginia Society but

contributes towards the cost of their publication. From the Library of the United States Surgeon-General's Office we have volume IV. of its Index. It is highly creditable to Surgeon John S. Billings, the officer in charge, and to the Government which has undertaken a work at once so great and so useful.

The largest donation of the past six months is that of the family of our late senior Councillor, Hon. Isaac Davis, now represented in the Society by his son Hon. Edward L. Davis and his son-in-law Hon. Elijah B. Stoddard. The gift includes about fourteen hundred books and over nine hundred pamphlets, with portraits, engravings, photographs and maps. While special classes have been assigned to their respective alcoves the miscellaneous books have been temporarily placed in the lower half of the Davis alcove. A material increase in our duplicate supply has resulted from this thoughtful and generous contribution.

At the sale of the second part of the library of the late Joseph J. Cooke, October 1 to 6 inclusive, your Librarian bid off three hundred lots containing seven hundred volumes, for eleven hundred and eighty-eight dollars and ninety-seven cents. They may be classed as follows :

Biography .....	172 volumes.
English and French Literature .....	165 volumes.
Voyages and Travels .....	117 volumes.
History .....	84 volumes.
Theology .....	41 volumes.
Poetry .....	24 volumes.
Bibles and Prayer Books .....	15 volumes.
Periodicals .....	14 volumes.
Antiquities .....	13 volumes.
Cyclopædias .....	12 volumes.
Fine Arts .....	11 volumes.
Ornithology .....	10 volumes.
Bibliography .....	8 volumes.
Local History .....	6 volumes.
Genealogy .....	2 volumes.
Slavery .....	2 volumes.
Trials .....	2 volumes.
Spiritualism .....	2 volumes.

To these should be added a portfolio containing sixty-seven colored prints, fourteen engravings and ten photographs. The collection comprises not only useful books of the period, but also books that serve to illustrate the early History of Printing in Italy, Germany, Belgium, France and England. Our copy of Herodotus, printed in the house of Peter de Maximis, Rome, 1475 — for many years the oldest printed book in the Library — has now for companions a Petrarch *circa* 1471, his *De Vita Solitaria*, Strashurg, 1472, a superb copy of Eusebius's *Præparatio Evangelica*, printed by Adam de Ambergau in 1473; a Justinus of Venice, 1477; *Hortulus Animæ*, Nuremburg, 1518; Claudi Ptolemari *Geographica*, etc., 1525; an Aldus of 1551; a Wynkyn de Worde, printed just after the death of his partner, William Caxton; the first folio edition of Spenser's *Faerie Qucene* and a reprint of the first folio edition of Shakespeare; with specimens from the famous Lee Priory, Longman, Pickering, Whittingham and other presses of later times. The following deserve special mention: Arber's *English Reprints of Old English Literature*, thirty-three parts; *History of Colchester in Essex*, two volumes; *Historic Gallery of Portraits and Paintings*, seven volumes; Jackson and Chatto on *Wood Engraving*; Layard's *Nineveh*, three volumes; Saunders's *Portraits and Memoirs of Living Political Reformers*, folio; *Scotch Penny Chap Books*; Owen Jones's *Victoria Psalter*; Walpole's *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, Scotland and Ireland*, five volumes; Winkle's *Cathedral Churches of England and Wales*; Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle des Oiseaux*, ten volumes, folio; and Shaw's *Handbook of the Art of Illuminating during the Middle Ages*. A few volumes were purchased containing notes or autographs of distinguished persons, notably those of George and Bushrod Washington, Walter Scott, Horace Walpole and William Wilberforce. Our thanks are due not only to Gen. George Lewis

Cooke, one of the Executors of the estate of his brother Joseph J., but to our associate, Hon. John R. Bartlett, who has been his chief assistant in carrying out the wishes of the testator, and to Mr. Nathaniel Paine of the Library Committee, for suggestive checking of the catalogue. At the sale of the first part of this library four hundred and forty-two volumes were obtained, and at the second sale, as already stated, seven hundred volumes. The third and last part—wholly Americana—will be sold early next winter, and for it the Society has a credit of about twenty-nine hundred dollars. To make room for these special gifts and the regular increase of the Library, it is again suggested that the north lobby below be shelved to receive the United States Public Documents now in alcove R. More room could be obtained by constructing a second gallery in the main hall, thereby giving access to a third tier of shelves, and further provision might be made by alcovng or stacking the lower hall. In our Library as in many others there is constant demand for more space, money and service.

Your attention is called to the importance of continuing the Pickering Dodge Scrap Book of the War of Secession, adding such material as our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, and others have presented. It was begun in Baltimore and Philadelphia in 1861. Mr. Dodge, who died in December, 1863, prepared and put into substantial binding fourteen volumes, covering the period from November, 1860, to April, 1861, and left a large mass of material more or less carefully arranged. The bound volumes have printed title-pages with manuscript tables of contents and lists of newspapers used in their preparation. While this series is made up wholly of newspaper clippings, that arranged and presented by our associate Dr. John G. Metcalf, and complete in sixty-six volumes, also includes letters, maps and relics of "the Great Rebellion."

Before printing the new mailing list of members, an



effort was made to verify all names, titles and post-office addresses, but in a few cases it was impossible to do so. Members not correspondents of the Librarian would confer a favor by sending a postal card acknowledgment on receipt of this number of the Proceedings.

Mr. Salishbury, Jr.'s, Partial Index to the First Series of the Society's Proceedings, with Mr. Paine's List of the Publications, has been distributed to all subscribers to the Publishing Fund, to foreign corresponding societies and to domestic societies from which we are in receipt of valuable material. To all others it is offered in sheets for binding at one dollar for each copy, to defray the cost of publication. As it has been freely advertised by the liberal distribution of a cheap edition of the Priced List, a fair demand for it might reasonably be expected. Orders, which are respectfully solicited from members, societies and others, will be promptly filled by the Librarian. The change in the market value of some of our publications is quite noticeable. In September, 1859, volume two of the Transactions was sold for two dollars and twenty-five cents per copy, forty-five per cent. off to dealers, while the present list price is fifteen dollars net. The last number of the Proceedings was distributed nearly two months ago, thanks to an efficient Committee of Publication as well as to the contributors who so promptly forwarded their manuscripts. Great care has been taken in mailing, especially to points outside of New England, all parcels being wrapped and fastened with twine. Any failure to receive in good order should be reported. By direction of the Library Committee nearly a score of societies and libraries which have made no return in kind, have been dropped from our exchange list. Our course in this matter has been necessitated by the limited edition of the Proceedings. As indexers we bespeak the assistance that can be rendered only by those who supply the material to be indexed. Chief among these helps will be authorities

carefully given, and names—particularly obscure ones—fully and truly stated. In this nineteenth century no book which needs an index should be copyrighted until an index is provided. For the benefit of our sometimes confused card cataloguers, we enter a protest against the printing of the same work at various periods under different titles; against the publishing of stereotyped books under the same title but with the year changed from time to time; and against the reprinting of rare books and pamphlets without a suggestion that they were originally published thirty, fifty or one hundred years before. We have received an occasional volume from the author or publisher whose tardy notice that the book was sent for examination or sale did not reach us until acknowledgment and entry were made, and the Society stamp affixed.

In the absence of a complete Card Catalogue, a work upon which Miss Robinson is still engaged, the alcove lists prepared by Messrs. Colton and Riordan are found of considerable service in checking sale catalogues as well as in giving other helpful information. It should not be forgotten by those who “wonder that so much can be done with so little,” that two of the above named are on the pay-roll of Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr. In quite an extended correspondence with reference to an attempt to complete our set of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, a letter was received from Mr. Oliver Johnson, in which he writes as follows: “I have a file of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* which at my death, if not before, will go to some public institution. I will remember your application in behalf of the American Antiquarian Society, for which I have a high regard.”

Rev. George W. Phillips, a friend of the Society, recently discovered in an Edinburgh book-stall an English orderly book used in Cornwallis's army from the 28th of June, 1781, until his defeat at Yorktown the 19th of October. He kindly gave us immediate notice, but it was

thought best not to bid against the British Museum for this rare bit of American history. It has since been offered to the Society for twenty-five pounds sterling.

The privilege of record deposits, granted to such bodies for instance as the Worcester Association and the Worcester Fire Society is well bestowed, for it is one way of preserving history. In the case of individuals, however, it has not always proved so satisfactory. A deposit of coins and tokens of no special value, made some twenty-eight years ago by a cosmopolite who took no receipt, has just been identified and withdrawn by the owner, who writes that he has "married, bought a farm and settled down for life and would like to get them to keep."

Galley-proofs of the rough list of our collection of United States newspapers have been received from Mr. S. N. D. North, to whom the list was furnished for his special report to the Superintendent of Census. If such work can be undertaken decennially by the Census Bureau, why should not the "Circulars of Information," frequently issued by the Bureau of Education, contain lists of and even indexes to special subjects, if not to literature in general? Education which is to-day, more than ever, the talismanic word which opens private purses, should not be disregarded at the door of the Public Treasury. Coöperation has done much for the good cause, and libraries have taken an honorable part, but much remains to be done. To the American Library Association—a brotherhood in which our membership is strongly represented—much is due in this direction. At their very successful meeting held in Buffalo last August, our associates, Messrs. Winsor, Poole, Guild and Green were leading spirits as they were at its inception. The Society was also represented by your Librarian who joined the Association at its first meeting, and who desires to express his indebtedness to those who, sometimes by successive experiments, have found the better way and reported it. Our old-fashioned subject

alcoves, alphabetically arranged, still hold an honorable place among the approved modern methods. Although ours is practically a close corporation and the Library to a certain extent private, it would seem to be our mission safely to administer it not only for the benefit of members and other scholars, but for the public good. So far the use of the Library has kept pace with its increase, and it is a gratifying fact to report that the usual summer falling off of visitors was not apparent the past season.

We have to-day the rare privilege of listening to a Council report chiefly prepared by one who has been a distinguished member of this Society since October, 1838, the year preceding the death of his honored father, one of its Founders. Of the son we may not speak, nor of the young volunteer Bancroft who carried a musket on Bunker's Hill. Of the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D., when he had become a well-trying soldier of the cross and a promoter of all good works, let the Council of 1843—into which body our beloved President for thirty years past had just been elected—lend a tribute for the present occasion:—

“Associated with Dr. Thomas from the beginning, as a friend, as an efficient, learned co-laborer and as an officer of this corporation, who shared largely in its labors and councils, was the late Dr. Bancroft, a gentleman distinguished alike for clear comprehension and accurate views of subjects. His learning, zeal and wisdom all contributed to sustain the institution and to reflect credit upon its character and transactions when it had little to rely upon except the promise of future usefulness. His steady and constant support entitles his memory to be cherished with the veneration and respect due to one whose purity of life, wisdom and exemplary deportment left his honored name without reproach.”

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

*Librarian.*

## Donors and Donations.

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### FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, Prof. HERBERT B., Baltimore, Md.—Ingle's Parish Institutions of Maryland.
- AMES, ELLIS, Esq., Canton.—Newspaper clippings relating to Canton, Mass.
- ANCONA, Sr. ELIGIO, Mérida, Yucatan.—Four files of Yucatan newspapers.
- BAIRD, SPENCER F., LL.D., Washington, D. C.—Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum, Volumes I., II. and IV.; and United States Fish Commission Bulletin, Vol. II., for 1882.
- BARTLETT, Hon. JOHN R., Providence, R. I.—Catalogue of the Library of Joseph J. Cooke, part first, large paper copy.
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—One book; fourteen pamphlets; one map; and six coins.
- BELL, Hon. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.—His Historical Sketch of Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His Folk-Lore of Yucatan.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Esq., Richmond, Va.—His "Reminiscences of the Past"; Slaughter's Life of William Green, LL.D.; and various newspapers.
- CAMPBELL, Hon. JAMES V., Detroit, Mich.—His Biographical Sketch of Charles C. Trowbridge.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—His Chandler Genealogy, second edition; Bowen's "Boundary Disputes of Connecticut"; an important Chandler manuscript; thirty-three pamphlets; and one map.
- CLARKE, ROBERT, Esq., Cincinnati, O.—The "Fourteenth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland"; "The Industries of Cincinnati"; and two historical pamphlets.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Esq., San Francisco, Cal.—The Overland Monthly, as issued.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—A Japanese chair.
- DEANE, CHARLES, LL.D., Cambridge.—His account of the White Kennett Library of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
- DRAPER, LYMAN C., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His "King's Mountain and its Heroes, History of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7th, 1780."
- ELLIS, Rev. GEORGE E., D.D., Boston.—His statement with regard to the Quaker Persecution in New England.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His inscriptions on the bronze tablets recently placed on the gates of the older burial grounds in Boston; forty-five books; and one hundred and four pamphlets.
- GREEN, Mr. SAMUEL S., Worcester.—Eight of his own publications relating to Library Economy.

- HIGGINSON, Col. THOS. WENTWORTH, Cambridge.—The “Acceptance and Unveiling of the Statue of John Bridge the Puritan,” 1882, containing Col. Higginson’s address.
- HITCHCOCK, Prof. EDWARD, Amherst.—Eleven pamphlets relating to Amherst College.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—The Early History of the Families of Hore and Hoar; Blaine’s Memorial Address on the Life and Character of James A. Garfield; the official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Vol. IX., first series; and thirty-eight pamphlets.
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., Worcester.—His “Prohibitory and License Laws in the United States”; three books; and one hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets.
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Jr., Augusta, Ga.—His Address before the Confederate Survivors’ Association, 1883; and his tribute to Alexander Hamilton Stephens.
- JONES, JOSEPH, M.D., New Orleans, La.—His report, 1882–83, as President of the Louisiana State Board of Health.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—A collection of colored theatrical broadsides.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Paine Family Records, No. XIX.; a collection of war clippings; five books; one hundred and forty-eight pamphlets; and three files of newspapers.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Clinton, Wis.—His American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, as issued.
- PERRY, Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His Episcopal address, 1883; twenty-eight pamphlets; and the Iowa Churchman, as issued.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—His report of 1883, as Librarian of the Chicago Public Library.
- PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G., Lexington.—An account of the Commemorative Services of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Second Church, Dorchester, containing Mr. Porter’s remarks.
- PREBLE, Admiral GEORGE H., Brookline.—His History of Steam Navigation, 1543–1882; and six monographs on kindred subjects.
- PUTNAM, Prof. FREDERICK W., Cambridge.—His “Notes on Copper Implements from Mexico”; and his “Iron from Ohio Mounds: a review.”
- ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, Providence, R. I.—The orderly book of Sir John Johnson during the Oriskany campaign, 1776–77, with Stone’s annotations.
- SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—One hundred and ninety pamphlets; and five files of newspapers.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Jr., Esq., Worcester.—Valentini’s Olmecas and Tultecas, translated into English by Mr. Salisbury, Jr.; three magazines, as issued; and fifty-eight pamphlets.
- SHORT, Prof. JOHN T., Columbus, O.—Four parcels of antiquities from Ohio mounds.
- SMITH, WILLIAM A., Esq., Worcester.—The genuine Poetical Works of Charles Cotton, Esq., 8vo., London. 1744; and the Weekly Underwriter, in continuation.

SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, O.—His "Territorial Statesmen of Ohio"; his "Prairie Forestry"; and sixteen pamphlets.

SMYTH, Rev. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—One pamphlet.

STONE, Rev. EDWIN M., Providence, R. I.—Providence School Report, 1882-3.

THOMPSON, Prof. CHARLES O., Terre Haute, Ind.—His Inaugural Address at the opening of the Rose Polytechnic Institute; a photographic copy of an old painting of Christopher Columbus; thirty-six pamphlets; and various newspapers.

TRUMBULL, Hon. J. HAMMOND, Hartford, Conn.—One pamphlet.

WALKER, Gen. FRANCIS A., Boston.—His "Political Economy," 8vo., N. Y., 1883.

WASHBURN, Col. JOHN D., Worcester.—Seven Insurance Journals, in continuation.

WILLIAMS, J. FLETCHER, Esq., St. Paul, Minn.—His Outlines of the History of Minnesota; three Minnesota Gazetteers; and eighteen Saint Paul and Minneapolis directories.

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—His address at the annual meeting of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, June 18, 1883.

#### FROM THOSE NOT MEMBERS.

ADAMS, Mr. CHARLES F., Worcester.—Two American maps of early date; a Confederate State bond; and Confederate bank note.

ADAMS, Z. B., M.D., Framingham.—Manuscripts formerly belonging to Ezra Taylor of Southborough, Mass., containing historical material relating to Worcester County.

AMES, OAKES, THE SONS OF, North Easton.—"Oakes Ames.—A memorial volume."

ANCONA, Sr. DESIDERIO, Holyoke.—Two files of Yucatan newspapers.

BAILEY, Mr. ISAAC H., Boston.—The Shoe and Leather Reporter, as issued.

BAKER, Mrs. FRANCES M., Worcester.—"The Discovery of a Viking Ship in Norway."

BALDWIN, Messrs. JOHN D. AND CO., Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.

BARBER, Mr. EDWIN A.—"Catlinite. Its antiquity as a material for Tobacco Pipes."

BIRD, Rev. FREDERICK M., South Bethlehem, Pa.—Twelve books; and seventeen pamphlets.

BOARDMAN, Hon. SAMUEL L., Augusta, Me.—His Home Farm, as issued.

BRADLEY, Rev. CALEB D., Boston.—His sermon in memory of Mrs. Mary C. Bispham and Francis J. Humphrey.

BURLEIGH, Mr. CHARLES H., Worcester.—Five books; and thirty-eight pamphlets.

CALDWELL, Rev. AUGUSTINE, Worcester.—His Denison Memorial, 1882.

CALLER, Mr. JAMES M., Salem.—His Genealogy of the Descendants of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick of Salem, Mass.

CARPENTER, Rev. C. C., Mount Vernon, N. H.—"The Creed of Andover Theological Seminary."

- CASTANIS, Mrs. R. H., Worcester.—Two broadsides.
- CHICKERING, Mr. JOSEPH K., Amherst.—Thirty-three pamphlets.
- CLARK, Rev. GEORGE F., Mendon.—The National Temperance Journal, 1867-68.
- COLTON, Mr. SAMUEL H., Worcester.—The Cultivator and Country Gentleman for 1875.
- COBB, Hon. SAMUEL C., Boston.—His centennial address before the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati.
- COOK, Mr. HENRY H., Barre.—His Gazette, as issued.
- COOKE, JOSEPH J., EXECUTORS OF THE ESTATE OF.—Seven hundred books; one portfolio; sixty-seven colored prints; fourteen engravings; and ten photographs.
- COREY, Mr. DELORAINE P., Malden.—Eleven town documents of Malden.
- CYR, M. NARCISSE, Boston.—His *Républicain*, as issued.
- DAVIS, Hon. ISAAC, FAMILY OF THE LATE.—Thirteen hundred and sixty-six books; one bound volume of newspapers; nine hundred and three pamphlets; thirty-seven engravings; twenty-five portraits; nineteen photographs; and twenty-nine maps.
- DAVIS, Master PAUL, Worcester.—“Daily Food” in the Zulu language; three books; and five pamphlets.
- DODGE, Mr. BENJAMIN J., Worcester.—His Annual Report as President of the Worcester County Mechanics Association; eleven pamphlets; and various newspapers.
- DODGE, JAMES H., Esq., City Auditor, Boston.—His Annual Report, 1882-83.
- DOE, Messrs. CHARLES H. and Co., Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.
- DROWNE, HENRY T., Esq., New York.—His Memorial Sketch of Stephen Whitney Phoenix.
- DUREN, Mr. ELNATHAN F., Secretary, Bangor, Me.—Minutes and reports of the Congregational Churches in Maine, 1883.
- EAMES, Mr. WILLIAM, Worcester.—Twenty volumes, chiefly rebellion literature.
- EARLE, Mrs. ANN B., Worcester.—Congressional Record for 1873-74, eight volumes.
- EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS.—Their Journal, as issued.
- FARMER, SILAS, Esq., Detroit, Mich.—His Annual Report as Historiographer. Detroit, 1882-83.
- FAY, EUGENE F., Esq., So. Lancaster.—One book; twenty-six pamphlets; and three files of newspapers.
- FIRTH, ABRAHAM, Esq., Boston.—A large drawing by “Brave Bear” of the fight in which General Custer was killed.
- FISCHER, Prof. HEINRICH, Freiburg, Baden.—His critical articles on Mexican Antiquities, including his “Ueber Mexicanische Steinfiguren.”
- FISHER, CHARLES H., M.D., Secretary, Providence, R. I.—The Fifth Annual Report of the Rhode Island State Board of Health.
- FOOTE and HORTON, Messrs., Salem.—Their Gazette, as issued.



- FOSTER, Mr. WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His Fifth Report as Librarian of the Providence Public Library.
- FULLER, Prof. HOMER T., Worcester.—His Inaugural Address as Principal of the Worcester Free Institute.
- GATSCHET, Mr. ALBERT S., Washington, D. C.—Five of his publications relating to Indian Linguistics.
- GEROULD, Mrs. JAMES H., Worcester.—Twelve pamphlets.
- GLEASON, Mr. J. H., Holden.—Fifteen books; and two pamphlets.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., Savannah, Ga.—His "Stage Reminiscences of Savannah, Georgia."
- HARDING, WILLIAM B., Esq., Worcester.—His Origin of the Names of the Towns in Worcester County, Mass.
- HART, CHARLES H., Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his own publications.
- HAVEN, Mrs. SAMUEL F., Executrix, Worcester.—Ninety-eight miscellaneous books for the Haven alcove.
- HEWITT, Hon. ABRAM, New York.—Peter Cooper's "Ideas for a Science of Good Government."
- HEYWOOD, WILLIAM, Esq., Lancaster, N. H.—An account book, 1769-85, of William Heywood, Charlestown, N. H., surveyor.
- HILDEBURN, CHARLES R., Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—His List of the Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania from 1760 to 1769.
- HILLIARD, Mrs. JOHN, Worcester.—The American Agriculturist for 1863, 1864 and 1867.
- HOOD, Mr. OZNI P., Indianapolis, Ind.—An earthen cup taken from a ruined temple near Zuni, Arizona.
- HOMES, HENRY A., LL.D., Albany, N. Y.—His second paper on the Correct Arms of New York.
- HUTTON, Rev. ORLANDO, D.D., Brookville, Md.—His "Church in Maryland since the War of the Revolution."
- KELLOGG and STRATTON, Messrs., Fitchburg.—Their Sentinel, as issued.
- KING, Col. HORATIO C., Secretary, New York.—Report of the Fourteenth Annual Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac.
- LADD, Mr. HORATIO O., Boston.—His Memorial of John S. C. Abbott.
- LEAMON, JACOB, Esq., Lawrenceburg, Tenn.—His Press, as issued.
- LEE, Mr. PARDON A., Worcester.—Two specimens for the Society's Cabinet.
- LEETE, JOSEPH, Esq., London, G. B.—The Family of Leete: with special reference to the Genealogy of Joseph Leete, Esq.
- MARBLE, ALBERT P., Esq., Worcester.—His Report of the Worcester Schools, 1882.
- MASON, Prof. OTIS P., Washington, D. C.—Four of his Anthropological papers.
- MCCRILLIS, HERBERT O., Esq., Taunton.—His Records of the McCrillis Families in America.
- MERRIMAN, Mrs. DANIEL, Worcester.—A mummified alligator from Egypt.
- METCALF, CALEB B., Esq., Worcester.—One book; thirty-six pamphlets; and two files of newspapers, in continuation.

- MILLER, Lieut. SAMUEL L., Secretary, Waldoborough, Me. — An account of the Reunion of the Twentieth Maine Regiment Association.
- NASH, Mr. GILBERT, Weymouth. — His "Weymouth in its First Twenty Years."
- NEWTON, ROBERT S., M.D., New York. — The Twenty-third Annual Catalogue of the Eclectic Medical College.
- NILES, D. WATERHOUSE, M.D., Worcester. — His "Ethical Therapeutics, or the Treatment of Disease by Moral Management *vs.* Drugs and Medicines."
- PEABODY, CHARLES A., M.D., Worcester. — Twenty-one numbers of the American Annals of Education and Instruction.
- PHILLIPS, HENRY, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa. — His account of the Public Collections of American Archaeology.
- PICKERING, Mrs. MARY O., Salem. — Photograph of John Pickering, LL.D., from the portrait of Chester Harding, 1837.
- POOLE, Mr. REUBEN B., New York City. — The Fortieth Annual Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York.
- RAIKES, Capt. GEO. ALBERT, London, G. B. — His History of the Honourable Artillery Company, two volumes; and his Historical Records of the First Regiment of Militia.
- RAYMENTON, WILLIAM H., M.D., Worcester. — Two pamphlets.
- RICE, Mr. FRANKLIN P., Worcester. — His Reminiscences of the Rev. George Allen; and the Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace of the County of Worcester, 1781-1787, edited by Mr. Rice.
- RICHARDSON, Hon. WILLIAM A., Washington, D. C. — His pamphlets on the Geneva Award Money; the U. S. Court of Claims; All Souls Church; and Harvard College Class of 1843.
- ROE, Mr. ALFRED S., Worcester. — His "Youth in the Rebellion"; five volumes of Methodist Hymn Books; and two "Books of Discipline."
- SMITH, Mrs. ERMINNIE A., Jersey City, N. J. — A manuscript sermon in the Mohawk language.
- SMITH, Mr. JOHN G., Worcester. — Three pamphlets; and numbers of the Weekly Bay State.
- SMITH, Mr. HENRY M., Editor, Worcester. — The New England Home Journal, as issued.
- SPOFFORD, AINSWORTH R., Esq., Washington, D. C. — His Report for 1882 as Librarian of Congress.
- SPOONER, Mr. PETER A., Petersham. — An autograph letter of Peter Gore, one of Shays's rebels.
- STAPLES, Mr. SAMUEL E., Worcester. — His paper on "The Thursday Lecture"; fifteen pamphlets; and various circulars.
- STIMSON, Rev. HENRY A., Worcester. — His "Comfort to Sodom," a sermon on gambling.
- STODDARD, Mrs. FRANCES MARY, Boston. — An account of a part of the sufferings and losses of Jolley Allen, a native of London, edited by Mrs. Stoddard.
- SURGEON-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES. — Index Catalogue of Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, Vol. IV.

- TOLMAN, MR. EDWARD F.**, Worcester.—The Wheelman for March and April, 1883.
- TURNER, MR. JOHN N.**, Ayer.—His Public Spirit, as issued.
- VINTON, MR. GEORGE W.**, Worcester.—Wood-cut of a grand trial of ploughs at Worcester in 1841.
- WASHBURN, HON. ELIHU B.**, Chicago, Ill.—His Sketch of Edward Coles, second Governor of Illinois.
- WEBB, REV. SAMUEL H.**, Providence, R. I.—Fifteen Rhode Island Diocesan Convention Journals, 1790-1883.
- WHITELEY, MR. JOHN**, Shirley.—Five books and ten pamphlets relating to Shakers and Shakerism.
- WHITTAKER, GEORGE M.**, Esq., Southbridge.—Plimpton's History of Southbridge, Mass.
- WILDER, HARVEY B.**, Esq., Worcester.—Three Massachusetts Artillery Election Sermons.
- WITHERBY, RUGG and RICHARDSON, Messrs.**, Worcester.—Files of the Scientific American; the Engineering and Mining Journal; and the National Car Builder, in continuation.
- WOODWARD, HENRY**, Esq., Worcester.—Exhibition Catalogue, 1883, of the Art Students' Club, Worcester.
- Y. M. C. A. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.**—Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations.

## FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.**—Their Proceedings, Part I., for 1883.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.**—Their Magazine, as issued.
- AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.**—The Thirtieth Annual Report.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Bulletin, Nos. 3 and 4 of 1882, and 1 of 1883.
- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.**—Their Proceedings, May, 1883.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Proceedings, No. 113.
- ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.**—The General Catalogue of 1880; and Annual Catalogue of 1883.
- ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.**—The Fourth Annual Report of the Executive Committee.
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.**—Statement of Mortality, as issued; and their Eleventh Annual Report.
- BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL.**—Report of the Trustees, for 1882-83.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.**—The City Documents for 1882, in three volumes.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Thirty-first Annual Report; and the Bulletin, as issued.
- BROOKLYN LIBRARY.**—The Twenty-fifth Annual Report.
- BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—An account of the Buffalo Semi-Centennial Celebration.

- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Constitution and By-Laws, with a List of Members, 1883.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Bulletin of Books added in 1882.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—The Historical Collections, January-June, 1883.
- GENERAL SOCIETY OF MECHANICS AND TRADESMEN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—Their Annals, 1785-1880.
- GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Constitution, By-Laws and List of Members, 1883.
- HARVARD COLLEGE.—The Bulletin, as issued.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Their Magazine of History and Biography, as issued; and one pamphlet.
- LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—*Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale. Cinquième Partie (1683-1724).*
- LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.—Their Transactions, 1882-3.
- MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Fund Publication, No. 18.
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Public Documents, 1881, five volumes; the Census of 1880; and Manual for 1882-3.
- MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Their Proceedings, March-June, 1883.
- MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Their Communications, Vol. XIII., No. 2.
- MERCANTILE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Sixtieth Annual Report; and Bulletin, as issued.
- MILFORD, THE TOWN OF.—Ballou's History of Milford, Massachusetts.
- MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Report of 1883.
- MUSEU NACIONAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO.—Their Archives, Vols. 3-5.
- NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Thirty-first Annual Report.
- NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Documents relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. VII.; and their Proceedings, second series, Vol. VII., No. 4.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—Their Nation, as issued.
- NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.—One pamphlet; and one chart.
- NEW YORK MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The Sixty-second Annual Report.
- NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—An account of the Proceedings at its Twenty-fifth Anniversary.
- PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY COMPANY.—Their Bulletin for July, 1883.
- PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY.—The Centennial Catalogue of 1783-1883.
- POLYTECHNIC SOCIETY OF KENTUCKY.—An account of the Fifth Annual Meeting.
- SEVENTH DAY ADVENT MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Nine volumes of their publications; and the Signs of the Times, as issued.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Collections, Vols. 22-27; Fish Commission Bulletin for 1881; and Anthropological Papers of 1881.

**SOCIÉTÉ AMÉRICAINE DE FRANCE.**—Their Archives, Vol. III., Part 1, new series; and Léon de Rosny's *Essai sur le Déchiffrement de l'Écriture Hiéroglyphique de l'Amérique Centrale*.

**SOCIÉTÉ D'ETHNOGRAPHIQUE.**—Their Annual Report of 1882.

**SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.**—Their Memoirs, Vol. 42.

**SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES.**—Their Journal, as issued.

**SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.**—Their *Archæologia*, Vol. XLVI.; Proceedings, Vol. IX., No. 2; and List of Officers and Fellows, June 7, 1883.

**STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.**—Fifty-eight volumes of Iowa State Documents; nine numbers of the *Annals of Iowa*; and five of the Society's Biennial Reports.

**TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.**—Their Record, as issued.

**UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.**—Five educational pamphlets issued by the Bureau in 1883.

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.**—A Compendium of the Tenth Census, 2 vols.; and the *Official Gazette of the Patent Office* with the Lists July–December, 1882.

**UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM.**—The Proceedings, as issued.

**UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.**—Official Record of the War of the Rebellion, Vols. VII. and VIII.; the Chief Signal Officer's Reports of 1880 and 1881; the Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, Vol. 2, Part III.; the Chief Engineer's Report for 1882, three volumes; and Professional Papers, two numbers.

**VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Collections, Vol. III., New Series.

**WASHINGTON COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION.**—Ninety-fifth Anniversary of the Settlement at Marietta, Ohio.

**WORCESTER, CITY OF.**—City Documents, 1883.

**WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.**—Twenty-three files of newspapers, in continuation; and their Reports of 1878, and 1883.

**WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—Sixty-two files of newspapers; and one hundred and two pamphlets.

**WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.**—The New York Evening Post; and New York Daily Tribune, in continuation.

**WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.**—Their Publications, No. XVIII.; and Proceedings for 1882.

**WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.**—No. 5 of their Publications; and Proceedings for the year 1882–83.

**YALE COLLEGE.**—Three pamphlets relating to the College.

**YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.**—Their Fifteenth Annual Report.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

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THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits his report for the six months ending October 17, 1883.

There have been no changes in the investments since the last report was made, except a decrease (occasioned by the payment of five hundred dollars) of the amount loaned on notes secured by mortgage.

The Publishing Fund shows a reduction, owing to the extra expense of printing the much needed "Index" to our "Proceedings." A portion of this will soon be returned to the Fund, it is hoped, by the sale of that publication.

The Treasurer is gratified to report an increase in the principal of this Fund, within the past week, of one hundred dollars, a gift from our esteemed associate, Rev. R. C. Waterston, of Boston. In his kind letter to the Treasurer accompanying it, he expresses his interest in the welfare of the Society, and says:—

"A Society which has been ever true to its purpose, and which never allows any year to pass without some added proof of the valuable service it renders to the country. I often wish that its rooms and its priceless treasures were within more convenient distance, that I might more fully enjoy the privileges they offer; but I none the less rejoice that they exist for the advantage of so many others who know well how to make the best use of them. It were almost worth while to remove one's residence to the pleasant city of Worcester were it only for this one attraction."

The Treasurer has acknowledged with thanks this addition to the Publishing Fund, the pressing needs of which have so often been presented to the attention of members.

The following statement gives in detail the receipts and expenditures for the past six months, and shows the present condition of the several funds.

STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS,  
OCTOBER 17, 1883.

*The Librarian's and General Fund.*

1883, April 18. Balance of the Fund,.....	\$31,480.91
1883, Oct. 17. Received for income from investments to date,.....	774.30
Received for annual assessments,.....	195.00
	<hr/>
	\$32,450.21
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses,.....	\$1,141.69
Paid for heating hall,.....	450.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,591.69
1883, Oct. 17. Present amount of the Fund,.....	<hr/>
	\$30,858.52

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$9,700.00
Railroad Stock,.....	1,800.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	9,200.00
Mortgage Notes,.....	9,300.00
Gas Co. Stock,.....	500.00
Cash, .....	358.52
	<hr/>
	\$30,858.52

*The Collection and Research Fund.*

1883, April 18. Balance of the Fund,.....	\$17,855.96
1883, Oct. 17. Received for income from investments to date, .....	451.25
" " " Received from sale of books,.....	480.38
	<hr/>
	\$18,787.59
Paid for part of salaries of Librarian and Assistant, \$333.33	
Paid for books, .....	277.55
Paid for incidental expenses,.....	110.08
	<hr/>
	\$770.96
1883, Oct. 17. Present amount of the Fund,.....	<hr/>
	\$17,966.63

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$4,500.00
Railroad Stock,.....	5,800.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	8,000.00
Mortgage Notes,.....	5,150.00
Cash,.....	16.68
	<hr/>
	\$17,966.68

*The Bookbinding Fund.*

1883, April 18. Balance of the Fund,.....	\$6,227.33	
1883, Oct. 17. Received from income of investments to date,.....	192.50	
	<hr/>	
	\$6,419.83	
Paid for binding,.....	\$103.70	
Paid Assistant-Librarian, .....	83.33	
	<hr/>	
	\$187.08	
1883, Oct. 17. Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$6,232.80

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,600.00
Railroad Stock,.....	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	2,600.00
Cash, .....	32.80
	<hr/>
	\$6,232.80

*The Publishing Fund.*

1883, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$8,905 15	
1883, Oct. 17. Received from income of investments to date,.....	235.00	
“ “ “ Received from sale of publications,.....	150.50	
“ “ “ Received from Rev. Robt. C. Waterston,.	100.00	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	267.50	
	<hr/>	
	\$9,658.15	
Paid for printing “Proceedings,”..	\$530.99	
Paid for printing Index to “ ..	324.81	
	<hr/>	
	\$865.80	
1883, Oct. 17. Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$8,792.35



*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,100.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	5,500.00
City Bond,.....	1,000.00
Cash, .....	192.35
	<hr/>
	\$8,792.35

*The Isaac Davis Book Fund.*

1888, April 18.	Balance of the Fund,.....	\$1,568.69	
1888, Oct. 17.	Received from income of investment to date,.....	27.50	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,591.19	
	Paid for books,.....	30.85	
		<hr/>	
1888, Oct. 17.	Present amount of Fund,.....		\$1,560.34

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$700.00
Railroad Stock,.....	800.00
Cash, .....	60.34
	<hr/>
	\$1,560.34

*The Lincoln Legacy Fund.*

1888, April 18.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,998.08	
1888, Oct. 17.	Received from interest on investments to date,.....	29.50	
		<hr/>	
" " "	Present amount of Fund,.....		\$1,998.58

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$1,900.00
Cash, .....	98.58
	<hr/>
	\$1,998.58

*The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.*

1888, April 18.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,082.64	
1888, Oct. 17.	Received for income of investment to date,.....	35.00	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,117.64	
	Paid for local histories,.....	28.80	
		<hr/>	
1888, Oct. 17.	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$1,090.84

*Invested in :*

Railroad Bond,.....	\$1,000.00
Cash, .....	90.84
	<hr/>
	\$1,090.84

*The Tenney Fund.*

1883, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$5,100.00
1883, Oct. 17. Received for income of investment,.....	167.50
	<hr/>
Transferred to Publication Fund,.....	\$5,267.50
	267.50
	<hr/>
1883, Oct. 17. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$5,000.00

*Invested in :*

Mortgage Notes, .....	\$5,000.00
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*The Alden Fund.*

1883, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,105.00
1883, Oct. 17. Received for income of investment,.....	35.00
	<hr/>
" " " Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$1,140.00

*Invested in :*

Railroad Bond,.....	\$1,000.00
Cash, .....	140.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,140.00

*The Haven Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17. Present amount of Fund,.....	\$1,040.20
(Invested in Savings Bank.)	

*The Salisbury Building Fund.*

1883, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,466.05
1883, Oct. 17. Received for income on investment,.....	35.00
	<hr/>
1883, Oct. 17. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$1,501.05

*Invested in :*

Railroad Bond,.....	\$1,000.00
Bank Stock,.....	500.00
Cash, .....	1.05
	<hr/>
	\$1,501.05

Total of the Eleven Funds,..... \$77,181.81

*Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement.*

Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$358.52
Collection and Research Fund,.....	16.63
Bookbinding Fund,.....	32.90
Publishing Fund,.....	192.35
Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	60.34
Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	98.58
B. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	90.84
Alden Fund,.....	140.00
Salisbury Building Fund,.....	1.06
	<hr/>
Total cash,.....	\$991.11
	<hr/>

Respectfully submitted, \*

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 17, 1883.

*Report of the Auditors.*

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that they have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 17, 1883, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched, that the securities held by him for the several funds are as stated, and that the balance of cash on hand is accounted for.

EDWARD L. DAVIS.  
CHARLES A. CHASE.

WORCESTER, October 19, 1883.

## PROCEEDINGS.

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SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 30, 1884, AT THE HALL OF THE  
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

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THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., in the  
chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The following members were present (the names being  
arranged in order of seniority of membership) : George E.  
Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Edward Jarvis, Nathaniel Paine,  
Joseph Sargent, Stephen Salisbury, Jr., P. Emory Aldrich,  
Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Rufus Woodward,  
George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell,  
Egbert C. Smyth, Robert C. Waterston, George H. Preble,  
Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Reuben A. Guild,  
Charles C. Smith, Charles O. Thompson, Hamilton B.  
Staples, Edmund M. Barton, Charles Devens, Thomas L.  
Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, George H. Moore, Samuel S.  
Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I.  
Thomas, Horatio Rogers, Frederick W. Putnam, Solomon  
Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Charles  
M. Lamson.

In the absence of Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN, EDWARD  
L. DAVIS was elected Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

The following gentlemen having been recommended by  
the Council were unanimously elected to membership in  
the Society, by separate ballot on each name :

JOHN BACH MCMASTER, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pa.

JOHN FISKE, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass.

SAMUEL STOCKWELL EARLY, Esq., of Terre Haute, Ind.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, Esq., of Providence, R. I.

Rev. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Señor JUSTO BENITEZ, of Mexico.

Señor ARTURO SHIELDS, of Campeche, Mexico.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH read the report of the Council.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, and Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON, Librarian, read their semi-annual reports.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., in moving to accept the several reports and to refer them to the Committee of Publication, expressed his interest in the report of the Council and his sympathy with the conclusions therein contained. He hoped that the writer would add still further to its value by developing the idea contained in his report and by putting in more elaborate form what is there suggested. In the course of the discussion which followed, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS said:

Such knowledge as has come within my reach of the origin and method of the New England Town Institutions has led me to a very simple and easy explanation of all the facts involved in them. Whatever models, resemblances, or analogies may be found in the previous history of the other hemisphere, classical, mediæval, Teutonic or Anglican for the New England Town system, I think we must recognize in it elements of novelty and originality peculiar to our own institutions, in part to be referred to new circumstances, in part to the characteristic qualities of the people. We may find resemblances, like features and methods in municipalities abroad earlier in time than our own, but nothing that identified them to the extent of showing that we copied them, or followed them as precedents. It would seem as if the nearest parallelisms with our own institutions were to be found in Scotland, after the Reformation, in the numerous parishes which had their petty local magistrates, their ministers and schools, though territorial proprietors, lairds and patrons had rights and powers which

subordinated all the municipal and ecclesiastical liberties of the people. Our own Court Records seem to offer a full explanation of the origin and method of our Town System. The Court had the disposal of all the territory within the patent or Charter. Grants of land, of moderate compass, of defined bounds, or to be surveyed, were made to individuals, for services, but in no case did these grants extend to large reaches of territory like the manorial possessions in New York and the Southern Colonies. Only to companies of men who had petitioned the Court for a grant with a view to a new settlement were extensive allotments made; and the conditions of the grant, with the proceedings necessary to make it available, carried with them all that was characteristic and essential in the construction and development of a New England town. The single, prime exaction, that "a sufficient orthodox minister" should immediately be obtained and provided for in the settlement, solely at the discretion and charge of those to whom the allotment was made, seems to me to designate an entirely original pattern in the idea of a new and independent municipality. The grantees immediately on their occupancy of the allotted territory, proceeded to constitute such a new town, with all the means and processes for self-government within the bounds defined; and the pattern set from the first was so satisfactory that it was strictly followed in all cases afterwards. The territory was parcelled into lots of meadow, tillage and woodland, with a reserve for a common, and sites for meeting-house, school-house and burial-place. So long as there was danger of assaults from the Indians the inhabitants were forbidden to plant their dwellings beyond a certain prescribed distance from the meeting-house. These actual occupants of the territory were competent to plan and carry out all these arrangements after free discussion among themselves, a majority of voices turning the decision in all cases of variance. The General Court designated, or gave the people power to designate, a few

persons who should have authority to "settle small causes" of claims or contention. "Selectmen men," so called, were charged with powers of an executive nature in carrying out the directions of the people in town-meeting. A clerk and other functionaries were chosen as circumstances called for them, not in imitation of what had been heard of in other places, but as the inhabitants found them necessary, as for example, fence-viewers, hog-reeves, etc. A minister was chosen and put in office, his support being derived from a common tax, which covered alike the school, the roads, bridges, etc. In all the affairs and relations which connected this so far independent municipality with other like municipalities, or with the general interests of the whole colony, it was under subordination to the General Court, in which its freemen were represented by delegates.

I find nothing wholly like this in earlier examples in the old world, or in other than the New England Colonies of this. Our municipal system was the product of the circumstances and necessities of the case. No reference is made on the court or any town records to any obligation or help to be found in following old precedents.

In occasional ramblings in our southern and middle States, especially in Maryland and Virginia, I have noticed in churchyards and in other burial-places, that the occupants of the graves are described as born in or belonging to some "county," never to any town. This is a very striking reminder of the different usage in the New England States, where the names of the deceased are always connected with the name of the town where they were born, resided or died. I cannot recall any instance of the latter class of memorials where a county is mentioned. And this difference of usage is significant of the fact that only the New England colonies had towns in the fulness and limitations of the accepted use of the term. In New York, under the Dutch, the West India Company made territorial grants of vast reaches of territory bordering for many miles on the

Hudson and the Mohawk, and running back indefinitely into the wilderness behind. These were manors of which the patrons were substantially autocratic magistrates holding "leet courts" for their tenants. Cases like that in which the scene of the battle-ground where Burgoyne surrendered was known as "Schuylerville," did not imply that it was in any sense a town, the name being given to it from General Schuyler's mills, which were situated there.

Brief remarks were also made by Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., and the three reports as together constituting the report of the Council were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D., offering (as a supplement to Dr. HERBERT B. ADAMS's paper on Tithingmen, presented to the Society in 1881) some ancient laws of the Massachusetts Colony, said:—

On reading the interesting paper by Dr. HERBERT B. ADAMS, presented to the Society in October, 1881, on "Saxon Tithing-Men in America," I recalled an early publication by the authorities of the Colony—setting forth expressly "*Tything-Men's Duty*" in "*Sundry Laws made by the General Court, wherein the duty of Tything Men is expressed.*" It was printed on three pages of a folio sheet, ornamented with the old engraving of the colony seal—with the Indian and the "Come over and help us" motto.

I have thought that it might be well to reprint these laws as an appropriate supplement or appendix to the paper to which I have referred. They will correct some errors and present the whole contemporary Massachusetts law on the subject.

*Tything-men's Duty.*

SUNDRY LAWS made by the General Court. Wherein  
the Duty of Tything Men is expressed, viz.:

IT is Ordered, that all private unlicensed Houses of Entertainment be diligently searched out, and the Penalty in the Law strictly imposed; and that all such



Houses may be the better discovered, the Select-men of every Town shall chuse some sober and discreet persons, to be authorized from the County Court, each of whom shall take the charge of ten or twelve Families of his Neighbour-hood, and shall diligently inspect them, and present the names of such persons so transgressing to the Magistrate, Commissioner or Select-men of the Town, who shall return the same to be proceeded with by the next County Court, as the Law directs; and the persons so chosen and authorized, and attending their duty faithfully therein, shall have one third of the Fines allowed them, but if neglective of their duty, they shall incur the same penalty provided against unlicensed Houses. Made *Octob. 15, 1675.*

**W**HEREAS the sin of Idleness (which is a sin of Sodom) doth greatly increase, notwithstanding the wholesome Laws in force against the same: As an Addition to that Law.

This Court doth Order, that the Constable with such other person or persons whom the Select-men shall appoint, shall inspect particular Families, and present a List of the Names of all idle persons to the Select-men, who are hereby strictly required to proceed with them as already the Law directs, and in case of obstinacy, by charging the Constable with them, who shall convey them to your Magistrate by him to be committed to the house of Correction.

**T**HIS Court being desirous to prevent all occasions of Complaint referring to the profanation of the Sabbath, and as an addition to Former Laws;

Do Order and Enact; That the Select-men do see to it that there be one man appointed to inspect the ten Families of their Neighbours; which Tything-man or men shall, and hereby have power in the absence of the Constable to apprehend all Sabbath-Breakers, Disorderly-Tiplers, and such as keep licensed Houses, or others that shall suffer any Disorders in their Houses on the Sabbath day, or evening after, or at any other time, and to carry them before a Magistrate or other authority, or commit to Prison (as any Constable may do) to be proceeded with according to Law.

And for the better putting a restraint and securing Offenders that shall any way transgress against the Laws *Tit. Sabbath*, either in the Meeting-house by any abusive carriage or misbehaviour, by making any noise, or otherwise, or during the daytime being laid hold on by any of the Inhabitants, shall, by the said person appointed to inspect this Law, be forthwith carryed forth and put into a Cage in *Boston* which is appointed to be forthwith by the Select-men set up in the Market Place, and in such other Towns as the County Courts shall appoint, there to remain till Authority shall examine the person offending, and give order for his punishment, as the matter may require according to the Laws relating to the Sabbath. Made *May 23, 1667.* [1677.]

IT is ordered by the Court and the Authority thereof; that the Law *Tit. Oathes and Subscriptions*, pag. 120, Sect. 2, requiring all persons, as well Inhabitants as Strangers (that have not taken it) to take the Oath of Fidelity to the Country, be revived and put in practice through this Jurisdiction.

And for the more effectual execution thereof, It is ordered by this Court: That the Select-men, Constables, and Tything-men in every Town, do, once every quarter of a year so proportion and divide the precincts of each Town, and go from house to house, and take an exact list of the names, quality and callings of every person, whether Inhabitant or Stranger, that have not taken the said Oath, and cannot make due proof thereof; and the officers aforesaid are hereby required forthwith to return the names of such persons unto the next Magistrate or County Court, or Chief Military Officer in the Town where no Magistrate is who are required to give such Persons the said Oath prescribed in the Law, wherein not only Fidelity to the Country, but allegiance to our King is required. And all such as take the said Oath shall be Recorded and Enrolled in the County Records by the Clerk of each County Court. And all such as refuse to take the said Oath they shall be proceeded against as the said Law directs. And Further this Court doth Declare, that all such refusers to take the said Oath, shall not have the benefit of our Laws to implead, Sue, or recover any Debt in any Court or Courts within this Jurisdiction, nor have

To inspect the  
taking the  
Oath of  
Fidelity.

protection from the Government whilst they continue in such obstinate refusal.

And furthermore, it is ordered, That if any officer intrusted with the Execution of this Order, do neglect or omit his or their duty therein, they shall be fined according to their demerits, not exceeding five pounds for one offence, being complained of, or presented to the County Courts or Court of Assistants. And this Law to be forthwith Printed and Published, and effectually executed from and after the last of *November* next. And that all persons that administer the Oath abovesaid, shall in like manner make return of the Names of such persons so sworn to the respective Clerks of the County Courts. Made *October 10, 1677.*

*AS an Addition to the late Law made in May last, For the Prevention of the Profanation of the Sabbath, and Strengthening the hands of Tything-men appoint to inspect the same:—*

It is Ordered, that these Tything-men shall be, and are hereby appointed and impowred to inspect public Licensed Houses as well as private, and unlicensed Houses of Entertainment; as also [*Ex Officio*] to enter any such Houses, and discharge their duty according to Law: And the said Tything-men are impowred to assist one another in their several Precincts, and to act in one anothers precincts with as full power as in their own, and yet to retain their special charges within their own bounds.

And it is Ordered, That the whole Fine raised by the penalty of this Law upon Delinquents, either in public or private Houses, shall be remitted to the County Treasurer, and the Tything-mans allowance made payable from him.

It is Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof, that henceforth the Select-men of each Town take care that Tything-men be Annually chosen in their several precincts of their most prudent and discreet Inhabitants, and sworn to the faithful discharge of their trust (where no Magistrate or Commissioners are) before the Select men of the place, and the said Tything-men are required diligently to inspect all houses licensed or unlicensed, where they shall have notice, or have ground to suspect that any person or persons do spend

Further  
direction and  
power about  
the Sabbath.

Tything-men  
to be annually  
chosen.

their time or Estates by night or by day; 'in Tipling, gaming, or otherwise unprofitably, or do sell by retayle within dores or without, strong drink, wine, ale, Cider, Rhum, Brandy, Perry, Metheglin, &c. without license, and into said houses where such disorders shall by them be found, they may, and are hereby required and impowred to enter into and make search in their Cellars, or any other places within or about the same where they may suspect, or have notice, that Wines, strong beer, Ale, Cider, Perry, Matheglin, Rhum, Brandy, &c. are lodged; and in case they shall find any quantity of either, whereof the owners do not give said Tything-men a satisfactory account of their having the same, any three of them agreeing, they shall by Warrant from any Magistrate, or Commissioner invested with Magistratical Power, or (where no Magistrate is within five miles of the place) they shall without Warrant requiring the aid of the Constable, seize, carry away, and secure all such Wines, strong Beer, Ale, Cider, Perry, Matheglin, Rhum, Brandy, etc. and present an account thereof with the names of the persons from whom they took it to the next Magistrate, or Commissioner of the Town where any be that are invested with Magistratical power, who may, and are hereby impowred to proceed against said delinquent partyes, and dispose of said Wines, Strong Beer, &c: as to them shall seem meet; and if for value more than ten pounds, they are then to bind said partyes over to the County Court, to be there proceeded against as the Law directs. In all which cases full recompence shall be made to the Tything-men, and other officers for all their care, trouble and expences in searching and securing said goods, and the remainder of the goods seized or value thereof, where the Magistrate, County Court, or Commissioners Court, that have orderly Cognizance thereof, shall not see reason to return the same to the partyes from whom it was taken, the same shall be put into the County Treasury.

Also the Tything-men are required diligently to inspect the manner of all disorderly persons, and where by mere private admonitions they will not be reclaimed, they are from time to time to present their names to the next Magistrate, or Commissioner invested with Magistratical power, who shall proceed against them as the Law directs, as also they are in like manner to present the names of all

single persons that live from under Family Government, stubborn and disorderly Children and Servants, night-walkers, Typlers, Sabbath-breakers, by night or by day, and such as absent themselves from the public Worship on God on the Lord's dayes, or whatever else course or practice of any person or persons whatsoever tending to debauchery, Irreligion, prophaness, and Atheism amongst us, whether by omission of Family Government, nurture and religious duties and instruction of Children and Servants, or idle, profligate, uncivil or rude practices of any sort, the names of all which persons, with the fact whereof they are accused, and witnesses thereof, they shall present to the next Magistrate, or Commissioner, where any are in the said Town invested with Magistratical power, who shall proceed against and punish all such misdemeanours by Fine, Imprisonment, or binding over to the County Court as the Law directs.

[*Tything-mans Oath.*]

**W**HEREAS you *A. B.* are chosen a Tything-man within the Town of *D.* For one year, until others be chosen and sworn in your room and stead, you do here swear by the living God that you will diligently endeavour, and to the utmost of your Ability perform and intend the duty of your place according to the particulars specified in the Laws peculiar to your Office, So help you God.

By the Court, *Edward Rawson*, Secr.

[October 15, 1679.]

NOTE. The following order was made shortly after the publication of the foregoing collection :

4th February, 1679-80. It is ordered by this Court, that every person, legally chosen, in any toune within this jurisdiction, to serve in the office of a tythingman according to law, and doe refuse to take his oath, shall pay as a fine to the toune forty shillings, and another to be chosen in his room for that yeare; and so from time to time, the same course is to be observed in all tounes. And further it is ordered, that the constable of each toune, from time to time shall assist the tything men in the execution of their office, being thereto desired by the said tything men or any two of them. *Mass. Records*: V. 261. Compare also with reference to the foregoing laws, pages 61, 62, 133, 240 and 241.

Dr. MOORE also spoke of a singular custom of the early colonists of Massachusetts, saying :—

I venture to read a few scattered and incoherent notes to suggest a curious subject of inquiry—not by any means to attempt an exhaustive treatment of any part of it.

There is a remarkable feature in early Massachusetts politics which has not attracted the attention it deserves, if (as I suspect) it may be traced through the whole period extending from 1643 to 1776.

At the first General Court, holden att Boston, the 19th of October, 1630 :

For the establishing of the government, It was propounded if it were not the best course that the freemen should have the power of chuseing Assistants when there are to be chosen, and the Assistants from amongst themselves to chuse a Governor and Deputy Governour, who with the Assistants should have the power of making lawes and chuseing officers to execute the same. This was fully assented to by the generall vote of the people, and ereccon of hands. *Mass. Records*: i. 79.

It appears that voting by papers came into vogue—perhaps about the time when the famous controversy about the stray sow was determined, which revolutionized the infant Commonwealth and gave two houses to the Great and General Court of Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup>

In the Colony Records—

1643. 7 September. It is ordered, that for the yearly choosing of Assistants for the time to come, instead of paps the Freemen shall use *Indian beanes*, the *white beanes* to manifest election, the *black* for blanks. *Mass. Rec.* ii. 42.

17 October. It is ordered, that if freeman shall put in more than one paper or *beane* for the choyce of any officer, hee shall forfeit 10<sup>s</sup> for every offence, and any man that is not free, putting in any vote, shall forfeit the like some of 10<sup>s</sup>. *Ib.* p. 48.

It is a humiliating fact that even in Massachusetts, among those precious saints whose prudent restrictions upon the

<sup>1</sup>The original breviate of the famous sow case of 1642, duly signed by John Winthrop, Governor, is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society.

right of suffrage excluded all but the godly and righteous, members of churches,<sup>1</sup> careful precautions had to be taken against cheating in elections—two methods of fraudulent voting being denounced in the law with penalties appropriate to the offence.

Unfortunately there is a volume wanting among the incunabula of Massachusetts, for which I would give more than for the lost books of Livy—the first edition of the Massachusetts Laws, 1648.

Turn therefore to the second edition and find on page 27, and the same on page 47 of the third edition, the law of

*Elections.*

It is Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof,  
Election by  
Indian corn  
and beanes. That for the yearly chosing of Assistants, the freemen shall use Indian Corn and Beanes, the Indian Corn to manifest Election, the Beanes contrary, and if any freeman shall put in more than one Indian Corne or Beane for the Choice or Refusal of any publick officer, he shall forfeit for every such offence, Ten Pounds, and that any man that is not free, or hath not liberty of voting, putting in any vote shall forfeit the like Summ of Ten Pounds. [1643.]

“The Governour, Deputy Governour, Major Generall, Treasurer, Secretary and Commissioners of the United Colonies, by writing the names of the persons elected, in *papers* open, or once foulded, not twisted nor rouled, that they may be the sooner perused.” [1647.]

How or when or why the change was made in the law by which *corn* was made the vehicle of approbation I have failed as yet to discover.

In the first attempt of the Plymouth pilgrims at exploration, when they sought out a place of habitation, their most timely and important discovery was that of the rude and simple granaries of the Indians—“baskets filled with

<sup>1</sup> As Mr. Bancroft says: “It was the reign of the church, it was a commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God.” “To the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it had been ordered and agreed, that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same.” *Hist. U. S.*, i. 390, 391.

corne and some in eares, faire and good, of diuerce collours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight (*having never seen any such before*). They also found among the stores of the natives "their beanes of various collours." These fruits of the land they appropriated and carried with them to their ships, "like ye men from Eshcol" for the comfort and encouragement of their brethren. They found opportunity to pay for these supplies afterwards—which they did not neglect.

I am unable from any sources within my reach at present to point out the continuous history of this curious form of the ballot, but the later example of its use, which I am now to present, is very significant.

In the House of Representatives, June 1, 1776: the House continuing the examination of the returns of the Members, begun on the day previous :

"It being represented to the House, that at the Election of the Gentlemen returned from *Salem*, the Electors voted by *Kernels of Corn and Pease*. Election of the Members from *Salem* illegal. It was moved, that the Sense of the House be taken, whether their Election was made agreeable to Law, and the Question being put, it passed in the negative.

"And thereupon,

"*Ordered*, that a Precept should issue to the town of *Salem*, for a new Choice."

The gentlemen who appeared were, on the

*First Day: May 29, 1776.*  
Hon. Richard Derby, Jr., Esq.  
John Pickering, Jr., Esq.  
Jonathan Gardner, Jr., Esq.  
George Williams, Esq.  
Timothy Pickering, Jr., Esq.  
Mr. Warwick Palfry.

*Second Day: June 5, 1776.*  
Mr. John Pickering, Junr.  
Jonathan Gardner, Junr., Esq.  
Capt. George Williams.  
Mr. Warwick Palfry.  
Capt. Samuel Carlton.  
Timothy Pickering, Jun., Esq.

The persons returned being the same with the exception of Capt. Samuel Carlton, instead of Hon. Richard Derby, Jun., Esq., who had been chosen Councillor on the first day and signified his acceptance of the office the day after.

I am unable to give any explanation of this proceeding. I do not know whether the irregularity was in the use of *peas* instead of *beans*, or that the citizens of Massachusetts



had ceased to regard with favor the use of any species of pulse or vegetable as a proper instrument for the exercise of the elective franchise. It was a singular "survival," even if the men of 1776 did pronounce against it as the "fittest."

In our day, numerous patents for voting apparatus illustrate the progress and status of the ballot. In England, six patents were issued from October, 1852, to December, 1869. In the United States, up to October 16, 1883, thirty-one patents had been issued for ballot boxes, and seventeen patents for voting machines.

Nor is the ballot box without a place in poetry—John Pierpont's famous lines have consecrated it:

"A weapon that comes down as still  
As snowflakes fall upon the sod;  
But executes a freeman's will  
As lightning does the will of God.  
And from its force, nor doors, nor locks  
Can shield you; 'tis the ballot box."

The fathers of Massachusetts had ancient and classical authority for their chosen method of voting for Assistants. They feared the fables of the heathen nations, and were not without anxiety respecting the influence of the classical mythology upon the morals of a Christian people; but they never wholly neglected the lessons of profane history, and often sought the oracles of Greece and Rome in their studies for culture. The correspondence between Thomas Shepard and the elder Winthrop<sup>1</sup> indicates the sensitive point, and Cotton Mather's horror at the "wicked Homer"<sup>2</sup> was a sort of final Puritan echo (with astonishing emphasis of reverberation) of the Patristic theories which made him the author of the *Pagan Mythology*. Yet on the whole, the early New England literature bears witness to a good degree of familiarity with the classics.

In all the popular states of antiquity the election and

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop Papers: 2d Series, 272.

<sup>2</sup> "The Song of *Deborah* is a Rare Poem, and one that it seems the Wicked Homer was no more a stranger to, than he was to our *Eighteenth Psalm*, when he formed the cursed *Iliad*, with which he brought in upon the World, a Flood of Debaucheries and Impieties." *Accomplished Singer*: p. 4.

rejection of magistrates were signified by *beans*. Among the Athenians, on account of the use of beans, the *δημος* is called *κναιμοτρῶξ* by Aristophanes, *Eq.*, 41. The ancient *faba*, the *κναιμος* of the Greeks thus played a very important part in politics—though other forms of the ballot were well known. Balls of metal or stone, pierced or whole, black or white, the former of each *against*, the latter *for*, the defendant, were used in criminal proceedings.

“Mos erat antiquus nivels atrisque lapillis  
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpas.”

*Ovid: Met. xv. 41.*

“A custom was of old, and still remains,  
Which life or death by suffrages retains:  
White stones and black within our view are cast,  
The first absolve, but fate is in the last.”

*Dryden.*

The well known maxim of Pythagoras, “abstain from the bean,” signified “abstain from elections to political appointments”—“keep out of politics.” The fathers of Massachusetts certainly did not share the opinion of Pythagoras, but thought nobly of the ballot and no way approved his opinion concerning the *bean*.

Its use has not yet disappeared. None is more dignified or honorable than its revival by the Massachusetts Historical Society, which still maintains in its by-laws, the regulation adopted August 29th, 1815, when “on motion of Mr. McKean” it was

“*Voted*, unanimously, that, in balloting for members, and in taking any questions by yeas and nays (which shall be done when required by one-third of the members present), the law and custom of our forefathers be adopted, as it stands in the Statute of Elections, 1643, *mutatis mutandis*, ‘For the yearly choosing of assistants, the freemen shall use Indian corn and beans, the Indian corn to manifest election, and the beans contrary.’” *Proc.*: i. 249.

I have thus given the earliest and the latest facts within my knowledge on this interesting topic, and must leave it to our associates who have opportunity of constant reference to the original sources of information to fill up the long interval.

Hon. HAMILTON B. STAPLES, LL.D., read a paper on the history of the Colony of Massachusetts, as gathered from the laws of the province.

Judge ALDRICH added some supplementary information regarding the publication of old laws.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., presented a paper by Prof. HEINRICH FISCHER, translated from the German by PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI, on East Indian, Chinese and Babylonian stone implements, going to prove that a belt of these extends from Eastern Asia to middle Europe although as yet the complete connection has not been discovered.

J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., presented three Japanese tiles, forwarded by his brother, Rev. Daniel Crosby Greene, D.D., and offered an explanation of the characters upon them.

DANIEL G. BRINTON, M.D., presented, through STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., a memoir of Dr. CARL HERMANN BERENDT.

~~F~~ FREDERICK W. PUTNAM, Curator of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology at Cambridge, made a few remarks bearing upon the antiquity of man in America, based upon objects recently received at the Museum.

He presented photographs of four blocks of tufa each containing the imprint of a human foot. These blocks were cut from a bed of tufa sixteen feet from the surface, near the shore of Lake Managua, in Nicaragua, and were obtained by Dr. Earl Flint, who has been for several years investigating the archæology of Nicaragua for the museum and has forwarded many important collections from the old burial mounds and shellheaps of that country. The volcanic materials above the foot-prints consist of eleven distinct deposits, probably representing several distinct volcanic eruptions followed by deposits of silt. In one bed, apparently of clay and volcanic-ash, above the foot-print layer, many fossil leaves were found. Specimens of these are now in the museum and their specific determina-

tion is waited for with interest. While there can be no doubt of a great antiquity for these foot-prints, only a careful geological examination of the locality and a study of the fossils in the superimposed beds will determine whether that antiquity is to be counted by centuries or by geological time.

*Human* He also exhibited a portion of the right side of a human under-jaw which was found by Dr. C. C. Abbott in place in the gravel, fourteen feet from the surface, at the railroad cut near the station at Trenton, New Jersey. It will be remembered that in this same glacial gravel deposit Dr. Abbott has found numerous rudely made implements of stone, and that in 1882 he found a human tooth about twelve feet from the surface, not far from the spot where the fragment of jaw was discovered on April 18, 1884. Both the tooth and piece of jaw are in the Peabody Museum, and they each show the wear and rolling they were subjected to when carried along with the gravel from their original place of deposit. That they are as old as the gravel deposit itself there is not the least doubt, whatever age geologists may assign to it, and they were also deposited under the same conditions as the mastodon tusk which was found several years since not far from where the human remains were discovered. While there is no doubt as to the human origin of the chipped stone implements which have been found in the Trenton gravel, a discovery to which archæology is indebted to Dr. Abbott, the fortunate finding of these fragments of the human skeleton will be convincing proof to all that man existed previous to the formation of the great Trenton gravel deposit.

The various papers presented were accepted with the thanks of the Society, and were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

EDWARD L. DAVIS,

*Recording Secretary pro tempore.*

### ACTION OF THE COUNCIL ON THE DEATH OF HON. DWIGHT FOSTER.

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AT a special meeting of the Council, April 21, 1884, called to take action on the death of Hon. DWIGHT FOSTER, President SALISBURY offered the following memorial :—

Once more the American Antiquarian Society has been called to share with the citizens of our State in the solemn lesson that this earth is not the continuing city, and that it may not be the best working place for the ablest and most valued men. Our associate in this Society and at this board, Hon. Dwight Foster, LL.D., of Boston, died unexpectedly at his home, on the night of April 18th, 1884, at the age of fifty-five years, four months and five days. Some months ago he had an attack of alarming disease from which he was partially relieved, and was able with caution to attend legal business, and there was a hope of a continuance of comfortable and useful life. To give permanent expression to some of the sentiments that we entertain in regard to this public loss and private sorrow, we adopt for record these resolutions :

*Resolved*, that the life of Judge Foster was an honor to his time and a worthy example. With a clear and watchful apprehension of political affairs, he did not go among the people to seek office or favor, but when appointed he performed legislative and other public duties with earnestness and effect. His favorite and most valuable work was connected with equity and law. He was successively judge of probate, attorney-general and one of the justices of the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts. In the last office he was eminent among distinguished associates, and his resignation called forth strong expressions of regret from the profession and from citizens. In the attention that is now devoted to heredity, it will be noticed the great-grandfather and the grandfather of our associate, Hon. Jedediah

Foster and Hon. Dwight Foster, were judges and respected legal authorities in their time, and his father, Hon. Alfred Dwight Foster, was a well-read lawyer, though he did not practice. The last Judge Foster seems to have had a liveliness of mind for which his fathers were not so distinguished. After his resignation of the office of judge his legal practice was not so much in the arena of courts as in chamber counsel, a department of practice in which, in large cities, the ablest lawyers have done much to diminish litigation and promote peace and equity. In this business Judge Foster had a large and profitable clientage, with great responsibility and often with exhaustive, though satisfactory labor. From these congenial occupations and happy circumstances in life our friend has had a blessed removal, in the maturity of his powers and attainments, before a delusive experience of protracted age.

*Resolved*, that the death of Judge Foster has removed from this Society one of its most valuable and most honored members, and this Council is deprived of wise aid, a generous example, and genial companionship in the performance of its duties. The memory of personal friendship in some members of this Council cannot be disregarded, and cannot be officially expressed. His varied benefits to the Society need not be described now. The most interesting and important of them was left nearly or entirely completed by him. It is the legal Note Book of Thomas Lechford, the first lawyer in Boston, existing in obscure manuscript, which Judge Foster and his son, Alfred D. Foster, Esq., generously undertook to put in plain English and print as a gift to this Society, and Judge Foster would add an elucidation of practice and principles, which would give it greater attraction and value.

*Resolved*, that the Council will attend the funeral of Judge Foster, and members of the Society are invited to join in this testimony of honor and affection.

*Resolved*, that a copy of this memorial shall be presented by the Recording Secretary to the family of Judge Foster, with the assurance of our respect and sympathy.

The memorial and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

SAMUEL S. GREEN,

*Recording Secretary pro tempore.*

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

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THE report of Nathaniel Paine, Esq., Treasurer of the Society, and that of Mr. Edmund M. Barton, Librarian, make a part of this semi-annual report of the Council. The clear and satisfactory statement of the Treasurer will show that the permanent funds of the Society have been faithfully administered and that they are safely invested. According to the Librarian's report, eleven hundred and forty-seven books, fifty-one hundred and seventy-three pamphlets and one hundred and ninety-five volumes of newspapers have been added to the library during the six months ending the fifteenth day of the current month. These accumulations have been carefully examined, classified and placed ready for use. Full and interesting details of all these new acquisitions will be found in the Librarian's report.

Our associate, Dr. George Chandler, has not been unmindful of the needs of the Society and, as appears by the following letter addressed to the Council, he has made a liberal contribution to the Treasury of the Society by the gift of both money and books. His letter reads as follows :

*To the President and Council of the  
American Antiquarian Society;*

GENTLEMEN :

I hereby offer for your acceptance, in the interest of family history, five hundred (500) dollars to establish a "George Chandler Fund" for procuring works on genealogy and kindred subjects ;—that sum to be kept entire—the income of it only to be expended in books, charts, etc.

And, for the same purpose, I give two hundred (200) copies of the second edition of "The Chandler Family; the Descendants of William and Annis Chandler, who settled in Roxbury, Mass., 1637," for sale or to be used in exchange.

I desire that all works thus procured should be credited to said Fund by having placed in them (whether they are to be kept on the shelves of your library or to be again used for exchange), an inscription as follows :

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY.

FROM

GEORGE CHANDLER,  
WORCESTER, MASS.

GEORGE CHANDLER.

*Worcester, Mass., January 28, 1884.*

This letter was gratefully acknowledged by the Council soon after its receipt. The sum of money mentioned therein has been paid over to the Treasurer, and the books deposited in the library—they will be disposed of in accordance with the directions of the donor, and by that means we shall be able to make large additions to our list of local and genealogical histories.

It becomes the painful duty of the Council to call the attention of the Society to the death of six of its members within the last six months.

Mr. Clarendon Harris, one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Worcester, died in that city on the 12th of January last, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He had been a resident of the town and city of Worcester sixty-two years. He was born in Dorchester, September 8, 1800. His father, Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, was pastor of the First Church in Dorchester forty years. His mother, Mary Dix Harris, was a daughter of Dr. Elijah Dix, a prominent citizen of Worcester during the last half of the last century. Mr. Harris came to Worcester in



1822, wrote one year in the office of the Registry of Deeds, Artemas Ward, Esq., being at the time Register. In 1823 Mr. Harris began keeping a book-store and continued in the business till 1848. He was chosen Secretary of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company, upon its organization in 1844, and continued to hold that office, until a few months before his death, the duties of which he discharged with great and unvarying fidelity.

In 1854 he was chosen Treasurer of the Worcester Five Cents Savings Bank and acted as such till 1872. In 1879 he was elected President of the same bank, and held that office at the time of his death. Mr. Harris took a deep interest in horticulture and was a prominent member of the Worcester County Horticultural Society; for several years he was Secretary and Librarian of the society. He prepared and published the first directory of Worcester, and as early as 1829 he published a map of the central village of what was then the town of Worcester. This map has become very rare and is esteemed of great value as showing the estates and residences of well known families of former generations. Mr. Harris became a member of the American Antiquarian Society in 1878. He accepted membership and made his annual contribution to the treasury of the Society, but never attended any of its meetings. He was a man of cultivated literary tastes—he loved good books in elegant binding. He was a judicious purchaser and collector of books, as is evinced by the library he left at the time of his death, which though not large is quite valuable and unique in certain departments. His collection of fables is quite complete. He was a person of deep and decided religious principles and convictions, which regulated his daily life. He performed all his duties during a long life faithfully but unostentatiously, and by observing the rule of “not too much,”

he was in due time,

\* \* \* with ease

Gathered, not harshly pluck'd, for death mature.

Rev. Edwin Martin Stone of Providence, R. I., was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, April 29, 1805, and died in Providence, December 15, 1883. He learned the printer's trade and worked at it several years in Boston. In early manhood he became acquainted with Rev. Paul Dean, a noted preacher of the "Restorationist" faith—a branch of Universalists. He was greatly impressed by Mr. Dean's preaching, and felt called upon to enter the ministry himself. He was pastor of the Congregational Church at North Beverly, Mass., thirteen years, and left there in 1847 to take charge of what was called the ministry at large in the north part of Providence, and continued in that ministry until May, 1877, a period of thirty years. At the close of his pastorate, Mr. Stone preached a notable farewell sermon of an historical character. Mr. Stone devoted himself to literary work with great assiduity for many years. His first publication, which was in 1836, was a biography of Elhanan Winchester. In 1837 his "Hymns for Sabbath Schools" was issued, and in 1844 he published a compilation entitled, "Hymns and Tunes for Vestry and Conference Meetings." In 1843 his "History of Beverly from 1630 to 1842," appeared. In 1857 he published the "Life and Recollections of John Howland, late President of the Rhode Island Historical Society." His "History of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers," was published in 1860; and other works in the following order: "The Invasion of Canada in 1775," including the journal of Capt. Simeon Thayer, describing the perils and sufferings of the army under Col. Benedict Arnold, in its march through the wilderness to Quebec. (1867). "The Architect and Monnetarian," a brief memoir of Thomas Alexander Tefft, including his labors in Europe to establish a universal currency. Mr. Stone also published various Legislative Reports; Reports of the Ministry at Large; Historical Sketches of the Services of the Rhode Island Regiments in the War of the

Rebellion. One of his latest and best works, published only a short time before his death, is "Our French Allies in the Revolution." He left several works in manuscript incomplete, but upon which he had bestowed much time and labor. He also had considerable experience in journalism, chiefly in connection with religious publications. He was a prominent and active member of the school committee of the city of Providence from 1852 until his death, a period of thirty-one years.

For nearly or quite thirty years he was a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, during the greater part of which time he was librarian and cabinet-keeper of its northern department. His contributions to the archives of that society will continue as a living monument to his value as a faithful servant and valued historian.

In the several annual reports of the Rhode Island Historical Society, from 1872 to the close of Mr. Stone's term of office, a variety of historical data, including a letter of Roger Williams never before printed, is there found as the result of his painstaking labors to preserve the record of the past. He also edited one or more volumes of the collections of that society, and published, in connection with one of its reports, a "History of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction."

Mr. Stone was an honorary and corresponding member of several of the historical, genealogical and antiquarian societies, both in this country and in Europe.

He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1869.

Professor John Thomas Short, A.M., Ph.D., died in Columbus, Ohio, November 11, 1883. He was born at Galena, in that State, May 1, 1850. His parents, John and Elizabeth, who were natives of England, removed to Columbus soon after the birth of their son John Thomas. His education began in the public schools when he was six years old. At eleven he entered the preparatory depart-

ment of the Capital University in Columbus, and at fourteen he became a member of the freshman class in the same institution, where he remained two years. At the end of his sophomore year, having the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in view, he went to the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, where he completed the classical course at the age of eighteen and received the degree of A.B. For a year after his graduation he was the representative in Columbus of the *Cleveland Herald* and the *Cincinnati Gazette*, for which papers he reported with conspicuous ability the proceedings of the Legislature for 1868-9. In the fall of 1869 he entered Drew Theological Seminary, at Madison, New Jersey, where he completed the three years course of studies in two years and graduated in 1871 with the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. While he was at the Seminary, and before he reached his majority, he wrote and published his first volume, entitled, "*The Last Gladiatorial Show.*" It is described as a sketch imaginative in form but historical in substance, of life in Rome during the last days of the Empire, showing the horrors of the Roman games and shows, and the persecutions endured by the early christians. During his first year at the Seminary, he reported with much care the lectures of the President, Dr. McClintock, delivered extemporaneously, on the *Encyclopædia* and *Methodology* of Theological Science. So well was this work done by the young student, that after the death of Dr. McClintock, at the request of his executors, Prof. Short prepared the lectures for the press, and the volume was at once adopted into the course of study prescribed by the bishops of the Methodist church for young ministers. After graduating from the Seminary he devoted a year to the study of history and collected materials for a history of the church, which he meant to make at once complete and popular. The next three years he devoted to pastoral work in Methodist churches in Dayton and Cincinnati, Ohio. He at the same time

conducted the historical department of the Repository, published at Cincinnati, and contributed to several magazines—the *Galaxy*, *Appleton's Journal*, *Scribner's Monthly*, and the *Methodist Quarterly*. Most of his articles were upon historical and archæological subjects. He gave considerable time to the examination and study of the remains of the Mound Builders in the valley of the Ohio. At the close of the third year of his ministry he went to Europe and spent a year at the University of Leipzig. While at the University, in addition to his historical work, he studied the Spanish and Italian languages and contributed several articles on various subjects to American magazines. Before leaving Leipzig, the Faculty of the University becoming acquainted with Mr. Short's archæological labors, proposed to him to prepare a thesis on some historical subject and forward it to them, encouraging the hope that the doctorate would be given him, although this would not be in accordance with the rule of the University in regard to the residence of candidates for its honors. After his return to this country he spent several months in the Congressional Library in Washington, gathering materials for the work on which his reputation as an author now chiefly rests, viz.: "*The North Americans of Antiquity.*" This work was published at the close of 1879, and on forwarding it to Leipzig as his historical thesis, he received from that University the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In the early part of this work, speaking of the North American Indian, he says: "An incapacity for progress is characteristic of his entire career, and a mental inertia which no known power in civilization can overcome, marks his history, with few exceptions, as far as we are familiar with it." The early attempts to permanently improve the condition of the Indian race in New England would seem to justify the opinion of his incapacity for such improvement. Whether the measures now in operation to educate and civilize the Indian from other parts of the continent will

succeed any better remains an unsettled problem. At the close of the volume, Prof. Short generalizes in the following manner: "The uniformity with which the human mind operates in all lands for the accomplishment of certain ends, has in many instances resulted in the independent development of institutions common to several peoples. This fact, together with the probability that occasionally foreigners were cast upon the American shores, will be sufficient to account for many features which have been discovered in Mexican and Central American architecture, art and religion presenting analogies with the old world. The fact that civilizations having such analogies are developed in isolated quarters of the globe, separated from each other by broad seas and lofty mountains, and thus indicating a uniformity of mental operation and a unity of mental inspiration, added to the fact that the evidence is of preponderating character that the American continent received its population from the old world leads us to the truth, that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men.'" Whether these interesting speculations are consistent with the expressed opinion as to the incapacity of the Indian for permanent mental improvement and civilization, the writer of this report does not stop to inquire.

In June, 1879, after having held for a year the position of Professor of History in the Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, Mr. Short was appointed Assistant-Professor of History and Intellectual Philosophy in the Ohio State University. Subsequently he was promoted to a full Professorship of History and English Literature in the same University. He discharged the duties of this professorship with signal success, until the spring of 1883, when by reason of failing health he was constrained to tender his resignation. Hon. Isaac Smucker, one of our members, who knew Prof. Short intimately, writes of him that "Few young men gave greater promise of future usefulness, few of his years possess more thorough scholarship, few so

young have given such profound investigation to as great a variety of important subjects, few have performed so much valuable literary labor in so short a lifetime, few have led more useful lives or had such an honorable career."

Prof. Short was elected a member of this Society in April, 1881. He took a great and intelligent interest in the objects of the Society, and his early death entails upon us, as well as upon the republic of letters, a very serious loss.

James B. Campbell, Esq., who for nearly fifty years was a leader of the South Carolina bar, died in the city of Washington in November, 1883. His native place was Oxford in Massachusetts, where he was born in the year 1808. He was a descendant of honorable Scottish ancestry. As early as 1730 the family settled at Oxford, where they have ever since maintained a homestead. Mr. Campbell was educated at Brown University; but for some cause, unknown to the writer, he left the University without graduating, and when some years later a diploma was offered to him, he declined it. In 1828 he went to South Carolina and was employed as a teacher there. While teaching, he commenced the study of law, which he subsequently continued in the office of that distinguished jurist and scholar, Hugh S. Legaré. He was admitted to the bar in Charleston in 1831 or '32. He took an active part in the great nullification contest on the side of the Union. During the late rebellion, as has been said since his death by a not wholly friendly critic of Mr. Campbell's public career, he was "a Union man from first to last. His sympathy with the South was ardent, but none loved the Union more sincerely than he, or held the constitution, as it was, in higher reverence." It is said that he predicted the failure of the rebellion from the first, and strenuously opposed the attack on Fort Sumter and all other aggressive military operations against the government. In 1866 under the provisional

government of South Carolina, he was elected to the United States Senate, but he with other senators and representatives from States "lately in rebellion," was not allowed to take his seat. While his love of the Union and attachment to the constitution separated him from the governing party of the South, his extreme southern views on other questions cut him off from all sympathy and support from the North. In an address published by him in 1868, he declared that "The white man *shall* and the colored man *shall not* participate in, and control, the government of this country. There is no middle ground in this matter. The government must be all white or all colored." He seemed like a man to double duty bound, and in the vain endeavor to serve two masters he in the end lost the favor and confidence of both. But as has been said of him since his death "such was his intellectual audacity he exposed himself to censure where more cautious men would have escaped unnoticed. There was a boldness in him which bordered on rashness, combined with a sagacity which rarely erred save when passion obscured his judgment. In him there was no equivocation or evasion. What he did, right or wrong, he frankly avowed."

He was elected a member of this Society in 1866 upon the nomination of his early friend, the late Judge Barton. He did not accept the compliment in the same generous spirit with which it was tendered; and this accounts in part, for the brevity of this notice. But we need not forget that his election was at a time when the minds of men had not become settled and accustomed to the new order of things, and something may be forgiven to a great and positive character, which cannot at once adjust itself to its new environments. Mr. Campbell at the time of his death held a place in the front rank of the southern bar, and as an equity lawyer he is said to have had no equal among his associates.

George Dexter, Esq., was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, July



18, 1838. He was the fourth child of Edmund and Mary Ann (Dellinger) Dexter. His father, of a respectable English family, was born in Leicester, England, in 1800, and while still a young man, in 1823, emigrated to Cincinnati, where he acquired considerable wealth in mercantile pursuits.

George attended the private schools of his native city — spent ten months at the academy of Mr. Joseph Herron then connected with the Cincinnati College, and thence was sent to the classical school of Mr. E. S. Brooks in that city, where he received his preparation for college. "To Mr. Brooks," he writes in his college class book, "I owe much of the fondness for classical studies which has been the sole distinguishing mark of my college course. . . I have passed an uneventful course, meeting with no obstacles and taking no prizes, except a 'detur' in 1855, and the thirty-fifth commencement honor." He entered Harvard College in 1854 and graduated in 1858. In August of that year he sailed for Europe, intending to remain there some years, but he changed his plans, and in three months returned home. In March, 1859, he entered the Harvard Law School, and remained there till July, 1860, when he received the degree of LL.B. The year 1860–1861, he remained in Cambridge as a resident graduate. In July, 1861, he sailed for Europe again with his parents, both of whom were in ill health. His father was taken seriously ill in December, and required constant care from that time. They all returned to New York in July, 1862. His father died a week after landing. In September, 1862, Mr. Dexter resumed his residence in Cambridge, reëntering his name as a resident graduate. In May, 1864, he went to garrison the batteries at Provincetown, Cape Cod, in the twelfth unattached company, M. V. M., and returned in August. In 1864 he was elected secretary of his college class. He sailed again for Europe in September, 1865, and spent the winter in Paris, travelled in England, and returned to this country in June, 1866. In September,

1868, he married Lucy Waterston, daughter of Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge, and with his wife again visited Europe. They returned in December and took up their residence in Cambridge. In September, 1869, he was appointed tutor of Modern Languages in Harvard College, which place he resigned in October, 1870, to take the office of Steward. He resigned this office in December, 1871.

Mr. Dexter was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society at the April meeting in 1876. To the October Proceedings, in 1881, he contributed a paper on "The Testimony of Fabian's Chronicle to Hakluyt's Account of the Cabots." He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in November, 1877, and Recording Secretary in the following April, and he held this office for six years, when ill health, and absence from the sphere of its duties, compelled him to resign it.

Mr. Dexter's constitution never seemed robust, yet he appeared to enjoy good health. Although a student, spending much time among his books, he was fond of physical exercise. The effects of a cold which he took in the spring of 1880, he never recovered from. In the autumn of that year he seemed to be rapidly sinking; but he so far rallied that he was able to sail for Europe in October, and he spent the winter in the south of France, returning in the following June much improved. Yet the fatal disease (pulmonary consumption) was but temporarily arrested, and he was compelled as the winters came round to seek a warmer climate; spending a part of the winter of 1882-83 in Santa Barbara, California. He was so much pleased with the climate that he made arrangements to remove his family thither. And in September last, this purpose was effected. But he was too far reduced for such an effort. The journey by rail across the country was too much for him. He never rallied, and died December 18, 1883.

A college associate of Mr. Dexter and fellow member of the learned society of which he was the accomplished

secretary, in a commemorative address of the life and character of Mr. Dexter, says: "His capacity and knowledge, his powers of patient investigation, combined with an enthusiastic and elevated spirit, would, had life been spared, have gained for him very high distinction in this society and in all the walks of life. His was a sterling character, equable, trustworthy and strong, and his unvarying cheerfulness made his presence always a delight." The distinguished president of the same society after enumerating the many contributions to its proceedings, from the ever busy pen of Mr. Dexter, proceeded to say that "His tastes, studies, and acquirements gave promise of rich fruit in years to come; and nothing seemed wanting but health to insure for him a distinguished place in historical pursuits and literature." We may well add our tribute of respect to a character so full of merit, and regret the great loss our own Society has suffered in the early termination of a life so full of promise.

Hon. Dwight Foster, LL.D., died at his home in Boston, April 18, 1884. He was born in Worcester, December 13, 1828; graduated at Yale College with its highest honors in 1848. In 1849 he was admitted to the bar in his native city at the early age of twenty-one. He was elected a member of this Society, October 24, 1853; was chosen to the Council in 1856. This last position he resigned in 1863, and was again elected October 21, 1880.

Mr. Foster early distinguished himself at the bar and in 1861 became by election Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, and was re-elected the three following years. The first year of his service in that office he won high reputation as a learned criminal lawyer and able advocate, by the manner in which he conducted the trial of a capital case of great difficulty, the evidence in support of the prosecution being entirely circumstantial.

During the four years of the war his services as the legal adviser of the State government were of signal value; clear

in perception, prompt in decision, no necessary action of the government was delayed by any hesitation or timidity on his part. He was appointed an associate justice of the supreme judicial court in 1866. This office he resigned in 1869, and returned to practice at the Suffolk bar. His term of service on the bench, though brief, was long enough to show that he possessed all the qualifications of a wise, just and efficient judge. He combined dignity with courtesy of manner. As a *nisi prius* judge he knew how to despatch business, and yet give every suitor a full and fair hearing upon the merits of his cause. His written opinions, as they appear in the published reports, are models of brevity and directness, with force and clearness of statement. They are not much encumbered with *obiter dicta*, which serve only to bewilder and mislead the incautious practitioner who places much confidence in them.

Mr. Foster was for several years one of the law lecturers in the Boston University—his subject was equity; and his long and varied practice in the courts, and his profound knowledge of the principles of this great branch of the law, eminently qualified him for the post of instructor, in both the principles and practice of equity. He was no mere theorist, but, combined with scholarly tastes and habits, he possessed practical talents of a very high order. He was accustomed to deal with the most important questions before the court, and whatever he undertook to do was well done. He was associated with Mr. Trescott of South Carolina, and the late Mr. Richard H. Dana, as counsel for the United States in its controversy with Great Britain relative to the treaty rights of our fishermen. His argument in that matter, before the commission, showed how easily he could pass from the consideration of local to more general and international questions. But this was no surprise to those who knew Mr. Foster, for from the earliest years of his student life, he was noted for the quickness of his apprehension and his great powers of

acquisition. He was conscious of his own ability and at all times self-reliant. But he was generous in his estimate of others and never from envy or jealousy withheld merited praise even from a rival. One who knew him well during his whole professional life has said of him, since his death, that "in intellectual gifts of the highest order, nature had been profuse and bountiful to him. With a mind strong, vigorous, comprehensive and massive, his utterances, whether oral or written, at the bar or elsewhere, partook of the character of his mind. In his addresses and arguments, much of the force and logic consisted of clearness of statement. He was not without faith in appeals to the sympathies and feelings of juries and others, but he seemed much more confidently to rely upon their reason and understanding. He was as a counsellor, wise and safe. His views were comprehensive, and he never failed, in looking at a subject, to see both sides. His mind was judicial in its character—he was a born judge. Conscientious and impartial, his judicial opinions are models of excellence." Another of his associates has said of him that, "In social life he was most attractive, genial in temperament, agreeable in conversation, generous, cordial and hospitable. These it may be are of the ornaments and graces of life. But he was more than these, he was a thoroughly high-minded and honorable man, true and just, despising fraud and wrong, no matter what garb it might assume." Mr. Foster descended from a long line of honorable ancestry. His great-grandfather, Jedediah Foster of Brookfield, was a member of the provincial congress of 1774; he was elected a counsellor, but had the honor of being rejected by General Gage; he was a judge of the superior court and a member of the convention which framed the State Constitution. His son, Dwight Foster, was a member of the federal House of Representatives from 1793 to 1799, and a United States Senator from 1800 to 1803. Alfred Dwight Foster, the father of the late Judge

Foster, was a man of marked ability and learning as a lawyer, but he did not engage in the practice of law. Judge Foster, as has been seen, was not contented with these ancestral distinctions, but by his own honorable, useful and distinguished career, added new honors to the name as he passed it on to the next in succession.

Judge Foster was a generous benefactor of this Society, and its Proceedings have been enriched by the productions of his graceful pen. Some years since he volunteered to prepare the note book of Lechford for the press and to pay the expense of its publication as one of the publications of this Society. It is understood that, with the assistance of his son, Alfred Dwight Foster, he had nearly completed the necessary editorial labor on this curious manuscript note book of the first (in time) of Massachusetts lawyers, and that it is now passing through the press under the supervision of another member of the Council.

It is doubtful whether this Society was ever called upon before this day, to record at the same time the loss by death of three such members as Foster, Short and Dexter—men whose lives have been so full of performance, and from whose mature intellects and ready hands it was reasonable to hope for so much of eminent and useful service in the future.

All archæological studies are in their essential character historical, whether they relate to memorials of the past as found in wood or stone, earth or metal, or in the more spiritual forms of laws and letters. It may not be unimportant, perhaps, to discover if possible, the cause of the perforation in a half-decayed humerus, or to solve the problem as to whether the tumulus of the mound builders was a place of sepulture, or an altar on which men ignorantly worshipped an unknown God. But it cannot, surely, be less important to study the history of early institutions and primitive laws. And during the last few years the attention of historians and archæologists has been

largely devoted to the last named subject. Among the questions of this class, the origin of towns, especially of New England towns, and other organizations of a somewhat similar character in other States, has been much discussed by historical and antiquarian writers. But these writers do not agree in their theories or conclusions. On the contrary their views, as to the origin of towns and their relations to the State, are widely divergent. One may, therefore, be pardoned for entering anew upon the investigation and venturing to suggest some modified or new solution of the interesting problem.

De Tocqueville in writing upon "The American System of Townships," says, "The village or township is the only association which is so perfectly natural, that, whenever a number of men are collected, it seems to constitute itself. The town or tithing exists in all nations, whatever their laws and customs may be; it is man who makes monarchies and establishes republics, but the township seems to come directly from the hand of God." This may be regarded as an ideal, or speculative, rather than a historical statement of the origin of towns, yet it contains the announcement of a fundamental truth connected with the subject, and that is, when men come to live together in society, they find it necessary to establish, within comparatively narrow territorial limits, some form of local self-government; and this they do, not because some more or less remote ancestors may have done the same thing, but rather in obedience to a necessary law of social existence. And each generation or community of men, when left free to act, will establish such local institutions as will best subserve the necessities and wants growing out of their environments, and that without any servile imitation of those who have gone before them.

The late Prof. Parker, of the Dane Law School, in a paper read by him before the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1865, on "The Origin, Organization, and

Influence of the Towns of New England," says, "A careful examination of the history of the New England towns will show that they were not founded or modelled on precedent . . . . they were not contrived in the closet, nor in the hall of a legislative assembly, and brought into existence, with the powers and duties which we find attached to them, by the enactment of a law for that purpose. They did not burst into mature life by any previous contrivance. But, like most other useful machinery, they had their origin in the wants of the time, and came into existence by a gradual progress from imperfect beginnings."

Mr. Baylies in his memoir of Plymouth Colony, declares that "the origin of town governments in New England is involved in some obscurity. The system does not prevail in England. Nothing analogous to it is known in the southern States; and, although the system of internal government in the middle States bears a partial resemblance to that of New England, it is in many respects dissimilar." In another part of the memoir, the author says, "to the independent churches we may trace the original notion of independent communities, which afterwards assumed the name of towns, and which after having passed through an ecclesiastical state, and after the proprietaries became extinct from the special appropriations of all the lands within the bounds of their charter, assumed the shape of political corporations, with municipal and in part legislative powers within their own limits."

Our late associate, Judge Chapin, in his report for the Council at the semi-annual meeting of this Society, in 1870, discussing "the subject of our small municipalities and their relation to the government of the country," said, "the *modern* system of municipal organizations has had much to do with the civilization and progress of mankind. It has been adopted with more success and in greater perfection in New England, and in some other States • settled by natives of New England, than in any other part



of the world." And he apparently adopts the opinion of another writer whom he quotes, that the "New England towns are models after the plan of King Alfred's hundreds." To this theory of the origin of our towns, it may suffice to show that it is but a tradition that Alfred devised the arrangement into hundreds and tithings; and besides the tradition itself is irreconcilable with the facts of authentic history (see Stubbs's Constitutional History, b. 1, p. 99), and moreover the English hundred had very little in common with the New England townships or towns. (*Ib.*, pp. 96-108).

Mr. Frothingham, in his history of Charlestown, affirms that "the nearest precedent for New England towns were those little independent nations, the free cities of the twelfth century, or the towns of the Anglo-Saxons, where every officer was elective." The same writer, in the report of the Council of this Society, prepared by him for the annual meeting, 1870, says that "the German and Anglo-Saxon principle of local government was early asserted in all the colonies, and that whether the organization was called parish, borough, hundred, town or county, the principle was carried out, that the inhabitants should manage their local affairs through officers legally elected. The municipality in New England was the simplest of all municipal forms and the best adapted to develop the republican idea."

An inquiry respecting the origin and constitution of the free cities of mediæval Europe would show that they differ very widely from the towns of New England. Most of those cities had existed before the fall of the Roman Empire; they had suffered from invasions and civil wars, and "upon the fall of the Empire, had still been repressed by the feudal polity." Their inhabitants had been despoiled and their commerce and industry destroyed. "But the municipal traditions of Rome had survived, and were confirmed by the free customs of the Teutons. The towns

gradually obtained from the crown, and from other feudal superiors, charters of enfranchisement, which secured them the rights of maintaining fortified walls, of raising militia, of municipal self-government." In Italy and other parts of Europe some of the principal towns grew into sovereign or municipal republics and formed alliances more or less permanent; hence arose the Hanseatic League and that other great confederation of cities called the Rhenish League, and the confederation of towns and cantons in Switzerland. From this brief sketch, the great dissimilarity between the free cities of the twelfth century and New England towns is apparent. The former had existed as component parts of pre-existing nationalities and had been overrun by barbarians and destroyed by feudalism. And after centuries of struggle, they succeeded in throwing off the yoke of feudalism and became independent municipalities; whereas the New England towns were original creations, on a virgin soil, and instead of being separate and independent municipalities, they were parts of the State, forming together one body politic.

Green, in his history of the English people, speaking of the towns in England, says, "in their origin our boroughs were utterly unlike those of the rest of the western world. The cities of Italy and Provence had preserved the municipal institutions of the Roman past; the German towns had been founded by Henry the Fowler with the purpose of sheltering industry from the feudal oppressions around them; the communes of northern France sprang into existence in revolt against feudal outrages within their walls. But in England the tradition of Rome passed utterly away, while feudal oppression was held fairly in check by the crown. The English town therefore was in its beginning simply a piece of the general country, organized and governed precisely in the same manner as townships around it. Its existence witnessed, indeed, to the need which men felt in those early times of mutual

help and protection. The borough was probably a more defensible place than the common village. But in itself it was simply a township or group of townships where men clustered, whether for trade or defence, more thickly than elsewhere. The towns were different in the circumstances and date of their rise. Some grew up in the fortified camps of the English invaders. Some dated from a later occupation of sacked and desolate Roman towns. Towns like Bristol were the direct result of trade. There was the same variety in the mode in which the various town communities were formed." This passage has been quoted, partly for the purpose of showing the fallacy of those theories which attempt to trace New England towns to a definite Germanic or Anglo-Saxon origin. Neither English towns nor towns on the continent had a common origin, and they differ essentially in the elements of their organizations and powers. We find substantially the same account of the origin and functions of townships, boroughs and towns in the *Constitutional History of England* by Prof. Stubbs. That writer, who seems to have explored the beginnings of English institutions more thoroughly than any of his predecessors, says, "the historical township is the body of allodial owners, who have advanced beyond the stage of land community, retaining many vestiges of that organization; or the body of tenants of a lord who regulates them or allows them to regulate themselves on principles derived from the same. In a further stage, the township appears in its ecclesiastical form as the parish or portion of a parish, the district assigned to a parish." This writer also clearly shows that in different parts of England these primary divisions assumed different forms, and passed under different names. So that when a writer speaks of Anglo-Saxon or English townships, boroughs or towns, he uses terms quite too indefinite in meaning to impart any useful information to his readers, unless he makes known the stage of development of which

he is discoursing and the time and place to which his speculations refer. The term township, in English history, is used to designate "the unit of the constitutional machinery, the simplest form of social organization, and towns were originally only large townships or collections of townships." This difference in the signification of the two words, town or township, is no longer recognized in this country, each here embracing within its meaning the entire territorial extent of the municipality and its government.

The distinguished historian, Mr. Freeman, in his introduction to *American Institutional History*, says, "The institutions of Massachusetts and Maryland, such at least among them as have been handed down from the foundations of the colonies, are not simply the institutions of Massachusetts and Maryland. They are part of the general institutions of the English people, as they are again part of the general institutions of the Teutonic race, and these are again part of the general institutions of the whole Aryan family. There I must stop; some of my friends are able to go further; and if they can prove something which I am satisfied with showing to be English, Teutonic, Aryan, is really common to all mankind, they do me no wrong." So far as this is regarded only as a declaration, that similar institutions have been or may be found, among all branches of the English race, whether modern or ancient, it will probably meet with universal acceptance. But if it means that the institutions of Massachusetts and Maryland are merely developments of English, Teutonic or Aryan institutions, and that they have not arisen from a more comprehensive law of human need and action, then there will be those who cannot accept the statement as the final and satisfactory solution of this question touching the origin and organization of these institutions. The President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in his inaugural address, at the opening meeting of the association in 1880, spoke of New England as "the birth-

place of American institutions, and that here the fathers laid broad and deep the foundations of American freedom, and that here was developed the township with its local self-government, the basis and central element of our political system — upon the township was formed the county, composed of several towns similarly organized; the state composed of several counties, and finally, the United States composed of several States." This is a most remarkable genesis of town, county, State and nation; but it is not less imaginary and unreal, than the theory of a modern class of writers, who borrowing certain popular phrases from the scientists, speak of towns as the primordial cells out of which the State and nation have been evolved. These different and discordant theories and speculations respecting the origin of New England towns, which have been briefly stated, demonstrate the necessity of further examination and discussion, before a full and accurate understanding of the subject can be attained.

A careful study of the primitive institutions of all times and countries, can hardly fail to convince the inquirer after historical truth, that there were no pre-existing models for New England towns. These towns were original creations, formed to meet the exact wants of the settlers of a new and uninhabited country, and the founders of a new State. The joint-family group, the house communities, and the village communities which were fuller developments of the two former, and traces of which are found in the remote East, in Russia and other parts of Europe and in Northern Africa, the free towns of Italy and Flanders, the cantons of Switzerland, and the communes of France, are all generically different in their origin and organization from our New England municipalities. It is undoubtedly true, as Sir Henry Maine says in his *Early History of Institutions*, that "when the first English emigrants settled in New England they distributed themselves in village communities"; but these communities here possessed very little in common with

those of the same name above referred to. And in any consideration of this subject an essential fact to be remembered is, that both the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies were settled under charters which incorporated the grantees and empowered them "to make, ordain, and establish all manner of orders and laws, for and concerning the government of the colonies and plantations, which should be necessary and not contrary to the laws of England"; so that in both colonies, before the organization of any towns, a government in fact, though not in name, equivalent to a State government existed, with the amplest powers of legislation and administration in all matters both civil and criminal. And the right to establish towns, and the title to all lands within the territorial limits of the colony, were to be derived from and through the colonial government. It is therefore manifest, that so far from its being true that the State by some imaginary process of evolution is derived from the town, that towns are in every instance dependent on the State government for their very existence. And the origin, organization and functions of towns can be shown in no better way perhaps than by the following statement which has been condensed from judicial decisions and legislative acts. The towns of Massachusetts have been established by the Legislature for public purposes and the administration of local affairs, and embrace all persons residing within their respective limits. At the first settlement of the colony, towns consisted of clusters of inhabitants dwelling near each other which by means of legislative acts, designating them by name, and conferring upon them powers of managing their own prudential affairs, electing representatives and town officers, making by-laws, and disposing, subject to the paramount control of the legislature, of unoccupied lands within their territory, became in effect municipal or *quasi* corporations without any formal act of incorporation. It is not known that any formal act similar to modern acts of incorporation of towns, was passed until

near the close of the colonial government, and the establishment of a new government under the Province charter. In some cases the general court granted land to proprietors, who maintained an organization separate from that of the town having the same territorial limits, and divided the land among the settlers who participated in the grant, or sold them to others for the common profit of all the original grantees.

In other cases there was no grant of land to a separate body of proprietors, but the town by its establishment became the owner of the land within its assigned limits. Sometimes the land granted was called a district or outlying portion of an existing town; again in other cases the grant was called a plantation, which in process of time became a town as population and wealth increased.

Grants were sometimes made in severalty to a considerable number of settlers, who were afterwards recognized as a plantation, settlement or town by a proper name, vested by general laws with certain powers, and afterwards had their bounds declared; or at a much later period, grants of a tract of land were made to a company of individuals named, with the view of constituting a town afterwards. In either case, their rights and powers, both of soil and jurisdiction, were derived from the government. And in all cases and from the earliest period, the legislature of the colony exercised the unquestioned authority of deciding what public duties should be discharged by the towns.

As further evidence of the absolute dependence of the towns upon the colonial government, for their right of self-government in local affairs, we find that as early as 1630-35 the general court required towns to provide arms for their inhabitants, powder-houses, standard weights and measures; to cause to be made and recorded a survey of all lands improved or inclosed, or granted by special order of the general court; to mend corn fences which they should judge to be insufficient; and directions were given in relation to

other matters purely local and in great minuteness of detail. Familiar examples of subjects deemed clearly within the scope of legislative authority may be found in the records of early colonial legislation, of acts making it the duty of towns to furnish and build highways, to provide burial grounds, to maintain public worship and schools, with suitable meeting-houses and school-houses. The town of Groton, which dates its origin back to 1655, furnishes a good illustration of the manner in which many towns came into existence. A number of individuals who seemed to be in want "of fresh fields and pastures new," petitioned the general court for a grant of land, and the answer to the petition was, "The court judgeth it meet to grant the petitioners eight miles square in the place desired, to make a comfortable plantation which henceforth shall be called Groton." A certain number of persons named were at the same time appointed by the court to act as selectmen for two years; at the end of which time other selectmen were to be chosen in their places. The way in which other towns grew up may be learned from the earliest records of the Massachusetts colony; from which it appears that "before the arrival of Winthrop and a majority of the assistants, with the charter of 1630, a great number of private grants had been made by Governor Endicott and his special council, and as these grantees would naturally desire to take their grants in proximity with each other, for mutual defence, convenience and comfort, they thereby formed themselves into settlements or villages; and the first step toward forming these settlements into corporations was to give them a name. But as these settlements had no fixed limits or boundaries, and it became necessary to fix such limits, in order to ascertain what proprietors should be rated in any assessment, and who should be subjected to the duties and entitled to the immunities of such village or settlement, these settlements first named and then bounded, must have assessors to apportion and collect taxes; they were also, by



general acts of the legislature, vested with power to choose other necessary officers and manage their own prudential affairs. And thus they grew to be *quasi* corporations ;” and afterwards either with or without formal acts of incorporation these settlements or villages became towns. But it cannot be necessary to pursue this subject further, to prove that New England towns were the product of the peculiar circumstances and necessities attending the original settlement of this part of the country and that they were not established and organized upon any Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic or Aryan models ; that the colonial government, antedating all town governments, possessed and exercised general legislative and administrative control over all matters in which the whole colony was interested, and that the towns possessed and exercised only such local self-government as was granted to them by the legislature. And thus constituted, a town becomes a body corporate, with power to make contracts and to hold property for public uses. It is required to support public schools for the education of all children within its limits, to establish and maintain public roads and to support the poor. At first, towns were not required to support public schools, but were required to provide for public religious worship. But soon after the settlement at Plymouth, the support of schools became one of the duties of towns and has remained so to the present day ; and it is now many years since all constraint of law was removed and provision for public worship wisely left to the voluntary action of the people. Towns may grant such sums of money as they may deem necessary for the support of public schools authorized by law, for the support and employment of the poor, for public roads, for the writing and publishing of their town histories, for burial-grounds, for encouraging the destruction of noxious animals, for necessary aid to disabled soldiers and sailors and their families, and to the families of the slain, and for erecting monuments at the graves of persons who served in the military

or naval service of the United States in the war of the rebellion, and for keeping in repair such monuments and other memorials within their limits erected to the memory of soldiers and sailors who have died in the military service of the United States. Towns may also grant money for procuring the detection of persons committing felony therein, for maintaining a public library and public reading-room in connection with it, for the purpose of celebrating any centennial anniversary of its incorporation and publishing the proceedings of any such celebration; they may also grant a limited amount for encouraging the planting of shade-trees upon the public squares or highways by the owners of adjoining real estate, and they may, under certain specified conditions, establish public baths. Towns may make by-laws for managing the prudential affairs, preserving the peace and good order, and maintaining the internal police thereof, and for various other purposes; such by-laws must, however, before they can have any validity, be approved by a court of the Commonwealth. Towns may also make provisions for supplying the inhabitants thereof with water, and may construct lines of electric telegraph for their own use along their public ways. They are required to elect all necessary town officers and may participate also in the election of representatives to the State and federal legislatures. There are various other matters and things for which our towns are authorized to make provision and appropriate money, but no more need be said to show that these town organizations are radically different from any municipal or political organizations of an earlier date.

It is true that many of the powers now possessed by towns are the product of comparatively recent legislative grants, but in its essential character, as a self-governing body, in all its local affairs, the town has undergone no change from the first settlement of the colony to the present time. The towns, as has been said, grew out of the wants, the dangers and necessities pressing upon the early settlers of the Pilgrim and the Puritan colonies, and they

were clothed with such powers and privileges as were best adapted to meet these wants and ward off these dangers. And as advancing civilization has created new local wants, the legislature has, from time to time, granted corresponding municipal powers and privileges to provide for them. The Pilgrim and the Puritan came to these shores for certain definite purposes—purposes which could never have been accomplished except through and by means of just such institutions as they founded. They were not living among the ruins of ancient empires, nor were they surrounded by hostile feudal barons by whom they might at any moment be plundered. They were confronted only by the unbroken forest and the untamed savage; and they built their houses, organized their towns, adopted means of self-defence and common safety against the actual dangers by which they were surrounded; they cultivated their fields either in common or in severalty as they chose, erected the church and school-house, enacted laws and provided for the administration of justice, and in all things else acted with reference to the exact situation in which they found themselves. They built according to no archaic or mediæval patterns, but established institutions as original in their character as their own situation was novel.

To show that the early settlers of New England were governed more by their environments here than by any traditions they brought with them, it would only be necessary to call attention to the fact that while towns were universally established in the Eastern States, emigrants from the same parent country and accustomed to the same institutions and laws there, in settling Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, organized Parishes, Districts or Counties instead of towns. The objects of colonization in the two sections of the country were radically different, and hence arises in great measure the diversity in their institutions.

For the Council.

P. EMORY ALDRICH.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

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THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits his report for the six months ending April 19th, 1884.

The income derived from the various investments has been about the same as for the previous six months, and there have been no extraordinary expenses since the last report.

A new Fund has been founded through the generosity of our Associate, George Chandler, M.D., of Worcester, to be called the "George Chandler Fund," for the purpose of "procuring works in genealogy and kindred subjects; the sum to be kept entire, the income of it only to be expended in books, charts, etc." The gift of Dr. Chandler was five hundred dollars, which has been temporarily deposited in a Savings Bank to remain till an equally safe and more remunerative investment can be made.

The receipts and disbursements for the past six months are given in the following statement, which also shows the present condition of the several Funds.

### STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS, APRIL 19TH, 1884.

#### *The Librarian's and General Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17.	Balance of the Fund,.....	\$30,858.52
1884, April 19.	Received from income of investment to date,.....	970.54
" " "	Received for annual assessments,.....	50.00
		<u>\$31,879.06</u>
	Paid for salaries and incidental expenses,.....	1,025.84
April 19.	Present amount of the Fund, .....	<u>\$30,853.22</u>

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock, .....	\$9,700.00
Railroad Stock, .....	2,000.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	9,200.00
Mortgage Notes, .....	9,800.00
Gas Co. Stock, .....	500.00
Cash, .....	153.22
	<hr/>
	\$30,853.22

*The Collection and Research Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17. Balance of the Fund, .....	\$17,966.68
1884, April 19. Received from income of invested Funds	475.60
“ “ “ “ for books sold, .....	45.50
	<hr/>
	\$18,487.78

Paid part of salaries of Librarian and Assistant-Librarian, .....	\$488.64, .....	
“ expenses of Cook sale, etc.,	28.00, .....	514.64
		<hr/>

1884, April 19. Present amount of the Fund, .....	\$17,973.09
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*Invested in :*

Bank Stock, .....	\$4,500.00
Railroad Stock, .....	5,800.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	3,000.00
Mortgage Notes, .....	5,150.00
Cash, .....	23.09
	<hr/>
	\$17,973.09

*The Bookbinding Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17. Balance of the Fund, .....	\$6,232.80
1884, April 19. Received for interest on investments, etc.	206.00
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	\$6,438.80

1884, April 19. Paid for binding,	\$62.25, .....	
“ “ “ “ Assistant-Librarian,	88.33, .....	145.58
		<hr/>

“ “ “ Present amount of the Fund, .....	\$6,293.22
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*Invested in :*

Bank Stock, .....	\$2,600.00
Railroad Stock, .....	800.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	2,600.00
Cash, .....	293.22
	<hr/>
	\$6,293.22

*The Publishing Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund, .....	\$8,792.35	
1884, April 19.	Received for interest on investments, .....	276.70	
" " "	" " Publications sold, .....	33.50	
" " "	Transferred from Tenney Fund, .....	125.00	
		<hr/>	
		\$9,227.55	
1884, April 19.	Paid for printing "Proceedings," etc.,...	655.23	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund, .....		\$8,572.32

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock, .....	\$2,000.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	5,500.00
City Bond, .....	1,000.00
Cash, .....	72.82
	<hr/>
	\$8,572.82

*The Isaac Davis Book Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund, .....	\$1,500.34	
1884, April 19.	Received for income of investment to date, .....	36.40	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,536.74	
1884, April 19.	Paid for books, .....	26.75	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund, .....		\$1,569.99

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock, .....	\$700.00
Railroad Stock, .....	800.00
Cash, .....	69.99
	<hr/>
	\$1,569.99

*The Lincoln Legacy Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund, .....	\$1,993.58	
1884, April 19.	Received income on investment to date..	92.07	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund, .....		\$2,085.65

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock, .....	\$2,000.00
Cash, .....	90.65
	<hr/>
	\$2,090.65

*The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund, .....	\$1,090.84	
1884, April 19.	Received for interest on investment, ....	35.00	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,125.84	
1884, April 19.	Paid for local histories, .....	5.40	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund, .....		\$1,120.44

*Invested in :*

Railroad Bond, .....	\$1,000.00
Cash, .....	120.44
	<hr/>
	\$1,120.44

*The Tenney Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17. Balance of Fund, .....	\$5,000.00	
1884, April 19. Income on investment, .....	125.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,125.00	
1884, April 19. Transferred to Publication Fund, .....	125.00	
“ “ “ Present amount of the Fund, .....		\$5,000.00

*Invested in :*

Mortgage Notes, .....	\$5,000.00
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*The Alden Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17. Balance of Fund, .....	\$1,140.00	
1884, April 19. Income, .....	35.00	
	<hr/>	
		\$1,175.00

*Invested in :*

Railroad Bond, .....	\$1,000.00
Cash, .....	175.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,175.00

*The Haven Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17. Balance of Fund, .....	\$1,040.20	
1884, April 19. Interest to date, .....	41.60	
	<hr/>	
“ “ “ Present amount of the Fund (in Savings Bank), .....		\$1,081.80

*The Salisbury Building Fund.*

1883, Oct. 17. Balance of Fund, .....	\$1,501.05	
1884, April 19. Received from income of investment, ...	56.30	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,557.35	
1884, April 19. Paid for repairs in building, .....	43.03	
	<hr/>	
		\$1,514.32

*Invested in :*

Railroad Bond, .....	\$1,000.00
Bank Stock, .....	500.00
Cash, .....	14.32
	<hr/>
	\$1,514.32

*The George Chandler Fund.*

1884, April 19. Present amount of the Fund (in Savings Bank), .....		\$500.00
Total of the twelve Funds, .....		<hr/>
		\$77,744.05

*Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement :*

Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$153.22
Collection and Research Fund,.....	23.09
Bookbinding Fund,.....	293.22
Publishing Fund,.....	72.32
Isaac Davis Book Fund, .....	69.99
Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	90.65
B. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	120.44
Alden Fund, .....	175.00
Salisbury Building Fund, .....	14.32
	<hr/>
	<u>\$1,012.25</u>

Respectfully submitted,

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, April 19, 1884.

*Report of the Auditors.*

WORCESTER, April 25, 1884.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that they have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 19, 1884, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched ; that the securities held by him for the several Funds, are as stated, and that the balance of cash on hand is accounted for.

CHARLES A. CHASE.  
EDWARD L. DAVIS.



## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

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YOUR Librarian has little of an exciting nature to record in his semi-annual report. His daily session from nine until five has been filled more fully than ever with pleasant duties. The noon hours, for so many years not available to students, are fast becoming the busiest of the day. That much referred to but rather mythical librarian who is said to keep close watch over his treasures to see that no one makes use of them, would have found himself in uncongenial company with librarians Jennison, Lincoln, Baldwin, Burnside, Fisher and Haven. We remember gratefully that many of the oldest members of our profession are the youngest in their methods and spirit.

In Dr. William Paine's address of October 23, 1815, he calls this Society "the first and only incorporated Antiquarian Society on the continent." Its corporate name was then as it is now the American Antiquarian Society, though the original newspaper call for a meeting to organize was headed, in Dr. Thomas's Massachusetts Spy, American Society of Antiquaries. Since the young and vigorous Worcester Society of Antiquity has taken such wise possession of the local field it seems more important than ever that our name, and especially the American part of it, should be distinctively emphasized. It cannot be doubted that a live and intelligent membership is important to the continued prosperity of this Society. The fact that our number is limited by its constitution to one hundred and forty in the United States adds greatly to the responsibility of each of the members. Being one of the oldest of the societies

interested in the preservation and extension of a knowledge of American history, our correspondents include those who call for information as to our beginning, progress and present success. Thus age gives us not only dignity but opportunity, and we shall be wise if we fulfil this mission with the earnestness and enthusiasm shown by our junior Councillor in aiding the upbuilding of free public libraries. Let us encourage that spirit of helpfulness which shall abundantly prove that in an institution like ours power, not feebleness, comes with age.

The pagination of the Proceedings to form volumes with indexes continues to meet with favor and will doubtless lead to their more general preservation. It, however, makes the printing of extra copies more important than ever, as no number is now complete in itself. A few copies of these very limited editions may generally be obtained by early application to the Librarian. It appears that the importance of a new series of Proceedings was considered more than forty years ago, for in May, 1843, we have volume one, number one, and in October of the same year volume one, number two, though the paging was not continuous and the effort ended with their issue.

The following letter needs no comment. It is submitted for record, with the suggestion that both the national character of this Society and the excellence of its collection of government documents would seem to plead against the wisdom of the course indicated therein :—

“DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

WASHINGTON, *April 8, 1884.*

*The American Antiquarian Society,*

*Worcester, Mass.*

SIR :—In the readjustment of the list of institutions to which complete sets of congressional documents are sent by this office, made necessary by the increase of the number of representatives in Congress, it is found necessary to drop from said list the name of the American Antiquarian

Society, as provision is made for the supply from this office of only one depository of public documents in each congressional district and two at large in each state, the entire quota for Massachusetts being required for supplying the depositories named by senators and representatives. It is probable that these publications may all, or nearly all, be secured from the representative of the district in which the Society is located, or from one of the senators of the state.

. Very respectfully,

W. L. JOSLYN,

*Acting Secretary."*

For the purpose of comparison it seems well to classify the donors mentioned in the accompanying list. We find that forty-six members, one hundred and four persons not members and sixty-three societies have given ten hundred and eighteen books, five thousand and twenty-nine pamphlets, thirteen volumes of bound and one hundred and forty-five volumes of unbound newspapers, two card catalogue cases, seven framed and six unframed engravings, ten photographs, seventeen pieces of continental and confederate currency, three maps, one medallion, and various historic manuscripts and relics. Add to these one hundred and twenty-nine books, one hundred and forty-four pamphlets and twelve engravings received by exchange, and thirty-seven volumes of newspapers from the binder, and we have eleven hundred and forty-seven books, fifty-one hundred and seventy-three pamphlets, and fifty volumes of bound and one hundred and forty-five volumes of unbound newspapers as the grand total of receipts for the six months last past. Both as an expression of gratitude and as a convenient record, special mention is made of the following gifts in the order of entry :

President Salisbury's books, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers suggest a source whence such supplies may be drawn in any emergency. Admiral George H. Preble

sends more of his notes on shipping and longevity, and Hon. Samuel A. Green additional Groton history with the usual quantity of miscellanea. Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., has had made to order for our card catalogue two large substantial ebonized cases with handsome trimmings. He has added copies of his translation of Dr. Valentini's Mexican Copper Tools, Ober's Mexico, Chandler's Shirley and files of Yucatan newspapers. Rev. Edward G. Porter presents various war relics from Castine, Maine, and lithographic copies of early pictures representing the fights at Concord and Lexington; while from Hon. George F. Hoar we have his filial memoir of Hon. Samuel Hoar and a continuation of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion. Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington provides the library with a large paper copy in elegant binding of the Report of the Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer, which was printed under his direction as secretary of the committee. Edward Jarvis, M.D., has tried to make complete our set of his own publications, and Hon. Horatio Gates Jones has begun the same good work. Hon. Edward L. Davis has given with a miscellaneous collection of books and pamphlets a framed photograph of Trinity Church, Boston; and William S. Barton, Esq., a war file of the United States Record in seven bound volumes. Dr. George Chandler's gift of five hundred dollars and two hundred copies of the second edition of his Chandler Family history is elsewhere alluded to in this report. Mr. James F. Hunnewell's contribution of his Historical Monuments of France, not only supplies us with a much needed illustrated handbook, but with a very full and carefully prepared list of works to be found in that interesting country. Our collection of confederate bills and bonds, which had naturally been confided to the care of the Society's Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., has by him been tastefully arranged in a book provided for that purpose. He has heretofore prepared our

continental and United States fractional currency in a similar manner.

Having received from his honored mother the war letters and accounts of Captains Charles Henry and George Edward Barton, your Librarian has placed with them the letters which they received while in the Eastern and Western armies and presents them all for safe keeping. This collection of both field and home material will have an increasing value and should have many companions of a like character. Before referring more particularly to the Americana received from the third and last of the John J. Cooke library sales, it may be well to recapitulate. The Society received from the

First sale.....	442 vols. for.....	\$ 947 30
Second sale ... ..	700 " " .....	1,188 97
Third sale .....	525 " " .....	2,780 98
<hr/>		
Total....	1,667 " " .....	\$4,917 25
Leaving an unused balance of.....		82 75
<hr/>		
Of the bequest of.....		\$5,000 00

Ninety-one works of art for our portfolios were received from the second, and two hundred and forty educational pamphlets from the last sale. The books relating to America were sold December 3 to 8 inclusive, 1883, and the sale was faithfully attended, after careful preparation, by Mr. Reuben Colton, the Assistant-Librarian. The books secured are represented by the following classes :

American History .....	207 volumes.
Voyages and Travels .....	80 volumes.
Biography .....	57 volumes.
State Histories .....	38 volumes.
Washingtoniana .....	31 volumes.
Spanish America .....	29 volumes.
Local History .....	19 volumes.
Learned Societies .....	16 volumes.
Theology .....	14 volumes.
Public Documents.....	9 volumes.
Slavery.....	5 volumes.

Indian Languages.....	4 volumes.
Mathers .....	4 volumes.
Genealogy .....	3 volumes.
Bibliography .....	3 volumes.
Periodicals.....	3 volumes.
Atlases.....	2 volumes.
Trials .....	1 volume.

These productions of the past three hundred years are from America, Belgium, Canada, England, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Mexico and Spain, and include fine specimens from the Almon, Baskerville, Bradford, Bradstreet, Cramoisy and Franklin presses. Many of them, after expensive extending by illustrations and otherwise, have been sumptuously bound by Bedford, Blennerhassett, Mansell, Pawson and Nicholson, Pratt, Smith and Zaehnsdorf. Our benefactor evidently believed that, to a certain extent, a pamphlet worth keeping at all was worth preserving not only by itself but in substantial binding; and in this he has some worthy, and it should be added, necessarily wealthy, followers. A few specimens of the rarer books are here noted. D'Acugna's *Voyages and Discoveries in South America*, 4to, London, 1698; Esquemeling's *Bucaniers of America*, 4to, London, 1684; Foxe's *North-west Fox, or Fox from the Northwest Passage*, 4to, London, 1635; Groom's *Glass for the People of New England*, 4to, 1676; McKinney's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, 3 vols., fol., Philadelphia, 1836; Pagan's *Historical and Geographical Description of the Great Country and River of the Amazonas in America*, 12mo, London, 1661; Philoponus's *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio*, fol., 1621; Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, fol., London, 1632; Thevet's *Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, 12mo, Anvers, 1558; Villagutierre's *Historia de la Conquista de Guatimala y Yucatan*, fol., Madrid, 1701; Rdger Williams's *Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience discussed*, 4to, London, 1644; *Remarks on the Trial of*

John Peter Zenger, 4to, London, 1738; Apian's Cosmographia, etc., fol., Anvers, 1575; Astley's General Collection of Voyages and Travels, 4 vols., 4to, London, 1745; DeBry's Grandes Voyages, 4 vols., fol., 1591-94; Clinton and Cornwallis Correspondence, 8vo, New York, 1781; Coggeshall's Voyages, 2 vols., 8vo, New York, 1853; Cotton's True Constitution of a particular visible Church proved by Scripture, 4to, London, 1642; and his Singing Psalms a Gospel Ordinance, 4to, London, 1647. Three of the rare tracts relating to the Scots Settlement at Darien, including the Defence, the Inquiry, and the Vindication, Glasgow, 1699, 1700; Drake's Voyages, 12mo, London, 1683; Gomara's Historie Generale des Indes Occidentales, etc., 8vo, London, 1577; Hacke's Voyages, 8vo, London, 1699; Hennepin's Nouvelle Découverte d'un tres grand Pays situé dans l'Amerique entre le Nouveau Mexique et le Mer Glaciale, 18mo, Amsterdam, 1698; Herrera's General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, 6 vols., 8vo, London, 1725; four of the controversial pamphlets with regard to Lord William Howe's services in America, 8vo, London, 1779-1781; Lorenzana's Historia de Nueva España, fol., Mexico, 1770; Cotton Mather's Life of John Eliot, 8vo, London, 1694; Nathaniel Mather's Righteousness of God, second edition, London, 1718; Morgun's Anti-Poedo-Rantism Defended, 12mo, Philadelphia, 1750; Palmer's Travels in the United States and Lower Canada, 8vo, London, 1818; Paredes's Catechismo Mexicano, 12mo, Mexico, 1758; Parton's Life and Times of Aaron Burr, with Burr's autograph, a lock of his hair duly authenticated and twenty-five extra illustrations; Smith's Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania, with autograph letter of Franklin relating thereto, 8vo, London, 1756; Brief View of the Province of Pennsylvania, 8vo, London, 1755; True and Impartial State of the Province of Pennsylvania, 8vo, Philadelphia, 1759; Vancouver's Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean, etc., 6 vols., 8vo, 1801; Max-

well's Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser, 6 vols., 8vo, Richmond, 1848-1853. This was for a time the organ of the Virginia Historical Society. As already reported in the classified list, thirty-one numbers of the rare collection of Washingtoniana were bid off for our shelves. Of these, many are the less common lives of Washington and they have been added to the good collection already in the alcove of biography. Whitfield's Three Letters, etc., 8vo, Philadelphia, 1740; Edward Winslow's Glorious Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England, etc., 4to, London, 1649; Wyatt's Memoirs of the Generals, Commodores and other Commanders of the Wars of the Revolution and 1812, 8vo, Philadelphia, 1848.

Rev. George L. Walker of Hartford, and Curtiss C. Gardiner, Esq., of Saint Louis, contribute genealogical and historical material for service rendered. The latter copied from the Lechford Note Book, now passing through the press, a deed of considerable importance. Mrs. Henry P. Sturgis, granddaughter of William Paine, M.D., the loyalist, while attending the loyalist celebration at Saint John, N. B., gathered for us valuable historical books and pamphlets relating to the maritime provinces. From the author, Mr. C. R. Jack, we have received his Prize Essay on the City and County of St. John, New Brunswick. Mrs. Alexander H. Bullock deposits a copy of addresses delivered on several occasions by Alexander Hamilton Bullock. Perhaps no paper in this fine collection is more noteworthy than his Centennial of the Massachusetts Constitution, read before this Society in April, 1881, a few months before his death. The memoir which precedes the addresses is from the truthful and graceful pen of our First Vice-President, Senator Hoar. Mr. William D. Comins, of the Boston Daily Advertiser, has forwarded for preservation, with Dr. Thomas's Blaew press of about 1680, the stereotype plates from which an 1884 edition of the Advertiser was printed and the matrix from which the



plates were made. William H. Raymenton, M.D., the energetic President of the Worcester Natural History Society, provides us with the Flora of Worcester County, a foretaste of what we may expect from the Society's Publication Committee. Hon. William W. Rice has made a large donation of public documents, and from Mr. Benjamin H. Kinney we have received his medallion of Mrs. John Davis, as a companion to that of her honored husband. Our binders, the Messrs. Wesby, have again given a large collection of town documents of recent date. These reports, which contain important facts in local history, might be obtained in greater number by a circular application to the various printers and binders, as well as to the city and town authorities. Hon. George L. Davis has forwarded a copy of his Davis Genealogy by the hand of the editor, Mr. George F. Daniels; and Mr. George D. Scull a second edition of his Dorothea Scott of Egerton House, Kent, 1611-1680, following the first edition received last year. The departments of women's rights, slavery and witchcraft have been enriched by Miss Sarah E. Wall, George W. Brown, M.D., and Abner C. Goodell, Esq., the latter on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts, in reply to Dr. George H. Moore's notes read before the Society in October, 1883. Mr. Francis M. Boutwell adds another of his Groton pamphlets, being gleanings from the field so carefully harvested by our active associate, Dr. Samuel A. Green. Daniel Waldo Salisbury, Esq., has placed upon our walls five beautiful framed views of the surface of Beacon Hill in 1811; and David S. Messinger has deposited a cane made of wood taken from the Hancock house, Boston. We have received from the Marquis de Leuville, through James H. Salisbury, M.D., the first nine volumes of the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, London. Thanks are due the State Mutual Life Assurance Company for a large collection of insurance periodicals; the Worcester Free Public Library and Worcester County

Mechanics Association for their semi-annual contributions of newspaper files, and the Chicago Historical Society for evidence of renewed life in volumes of their Transactions. We have added to the Davis Spanish-American Alcove nineteen volumes, including the Library of Aboriginal Literature, edited and published by our associate, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton; and five volumes to the Benjamin F. Thomas Alcove of Local History.

Mrs. Minna V. Fitch has presented an admirable photographic portrait, handsomely framed, of Dr. John Green, who from 1831 to 1855 was a faithful councillor of this Society. He is remembered, not only as the beloved physician, but as a public benefactor in the endowment of the Green Library, it being the department of reference in the Worcester Free Public Library. In this connection it may be proper to allude to the fortunate appointment of his nephew, Mr. Samuel S. Green, to the care of the Library referred to and also to his recent election to the Council of this Society. As suggestive of the interest of this Society, as well as of its President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, as early as the year 1852, in the establishment of a Free Public Library in the City of Worcester, the accompanying documents, which have not before been made public, are submitted. It will be observed that both Mr. Salisbury and Dr. Green were at that time members of our Council:—

“WORCESTER, Jan’y 21, 1852.

*To the Council of the American Antiquarian Society:*

GENTLEMEN:—As the approved plan of the new hall for the American Antiquarian Society offers in the second story accommodations considered sufficient for more than double the number of the volumes now in the library, I have thought that the Society may be disposed to give permission that the larger part of the lower story may be occupied for a limited period of years for a use approved by the Society, and under proper regulations in considera-

tion of such an addition to the funds for the erection of the building as shall avoid the danger of incurring debt or of abstracting from funds originally set apart for other purposes. The accommodation of a public library seems to me to be a use, not only appropriate to the Antiquarian Hall, but well calculated to add grace to the character of this venerable Society. The establishment of such a library is, at this time, regarded with much favor by our citizens, and it would probably be accomplished with readiness and on a liberal and useful scheme if suitable apartments were offered. In the hope that these suggestions will be approved by you, I offer to make to the American Antiquarian Society a donation of five thousand dollars to be used in defraying the cost of the erection of the new hall of the Society on condition that the Society will grant without rent and under such regulations as may be necessary for the safety and convenience of the Society, until the first day of January, 1875, for a Public Library for the citizens of Worcester, the use of the large hall in the lower story of the proposed building, with suitable finish and shelves for books and a sufficient room on the same floor for the office of the librarian. And I ask leave to reserve to myself the right of designating the Public Library which shall have the proposed accommodation.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

STEPHEN SALISBURY."

The action of the Council appears in the following, prepared by Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas :

"*Resolved*, that the Council of the American Antiquarian Society have a grateful sense of the kindness, liberality and public spirit shown by the Honorable Stephen Salisbury, as well in the gift of a valuable site for the new hall, as in the generous offer of the sum of five thousand dollars to aid in its construction ; that accepting in behalf of the Society the offer so made they readily consent to the use of the lower room for a library for the period indicated in his communication of January 21st, by such persons and under such regulations as upon a conference with Mr. Salisbury may be thought consistent with the convenience of the Society and safety of its collections.

*Resolved*, that the Secretary communicate a copy of this vote to Mr. Salisbury."

It does not appear that any further action was taken with reference to the subject matter of the resolves.

While no general code of rules would suit all libraries, it is to be hoped that a closer agreement in some matters of detail may be entered into. For instance, our experience suggests that in this day of the stylographic pen and the aniline pencil the use of the inkstand and ordinary pen in the consultation room of a library is of doubtful necessity, while the damage to book or manuscript attributable thereto is often irreparable. Following the precedent established by the gift to the Chicago Historical Society, after their loss by the great fire, the Library Committee has authorized in a similar case a donation of books and pamphlets, largely theological, to Drury College, through President Morrison.

Scholars and orators whose essays or addresses find their way into print, cannot be too careful in the selection of a printer. Upon the decease of one of our most eminent members it was found that he had not preserved the volume containing one of his noblest orations. The explanation was clear when our copy was borrowed for the purpose of having the same reprinted. It appeared upon examination that there were two pages of errata covering about two-thirds of the volume. Upon the page following those corrected by the tired proof-reader appears the expression "any *fiend* of the administration who watched the appearances," etc.

I venture to call attention to a gap in the otherwise perfect collection of the portraits of our presidents. We have Greenwood's Thomas, Sully's Winthrop, Billings's Davis, and Huntington's Salisbury, but of Edward Everett, our fourth President, only Wright Smith's engraving of Wight's spirited full-length portrait of 1858, and Bufford's fine lithograph of 1865. A three-quarter length portrait in oil was offered for sale to the Society some years ago, but it was not considered satisfactory. Photographs of members are carefully preserved in albums, and it is very desirable that

the collection be made as nearly complete as possible. The identification of the beautiful marble bust deposited by Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Esq., and referred to in the Librarian's report of October, 1881, remains as unfinished business. It has been thought by many members and visitors to represent Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney, but the wife of one of our members who was a frequent visitor at Mrs. Sigourney's home, and to whom we were referred by the daughter, Mrs. Rev. Francis T. Russell, does not encourage this view of the case. A heliotype of the marble, distributed with our Proceedings, might possibly lead to the establishing of the apparently lost identity of this interesting subject, and thus a fact be added to the department of personal history.

A word of special commendation is due to those of our literary friends who forward their handiwork in binding. "It is only a pamphlet" has consigned much American history to the waste basket, and some valuable brochures of but a few pages are sometimes as badly damaged by being sent flat as by the rolling or folding process. It should be remembered that small parcels may be sent by mail with as much safety, cleanliness and speed as by express, and that our post-office box is large enough to receive them. Diligent search for missing titles has rewarded your Librarian with more or less success during each of the eighteen years past. The returns since the October meeting have been especially valuable. For instance, we have received the Platform of the Synod of Cambridge, 1649, 4to, Cambridge, 1671; Propositions of Baptism by the Synod of 1662, 4to, Cambridge, 1662; Life of Richard Mather of Dorchester, 4to, Cambridge, 1670; the Boston Directory of 1798; Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, volume three; and a volume of Minot's Massachusetts, all of which have been absent from the library for more than twenty years. Under the present rules and regulations such disappearances will be well-nigh impossible. How-

ever, an enlightened public as well as private conscience, with a more vigorous enforcement of the laws relating to libraries, are much needed, and in the interest of both its moral and legal bearings we bespeak your constant and hearty support. A possible increase of our general fund might follow from the printing in our Proceedings an experimental list of some of our rarer duplicate books and pamphlets and a statement of what is needed to fill important breaks might be helpful. As far back as the year 1815, Dr. Thomas adds to his "Communication," "wanted for the Society The Massachusetts Register, printed by J. Fleming, in Boston, for the years 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773." Our exchanges though not large have been of more than usual importance. We have sent material where it was most needed and have received satisfactory returns. From the United States Museum we have in return for the exsiccated Kentucky Indian two hundred and eighty-two archæological specimens. Of these one hundred and three are from California, and include a mortar, pestle, arrow and spear-heads, hammer-stone, pierced stones, shell ornaments, etc. From eighteen other States, namely, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia and Wisconsin one hundred and forty-eight specimens were received, including grooved axes, pestles, hammer-stones, chipped and polished celts, scrapers, etc. In addition to these originals, are thirty casts and there is a carefully prepared list of the whole collection. Dr. Spencer F. Baird and Prof. Charles Rau have had a double interest in making this return, both being members of the Society. It is to be hoped that more of our perishable material may be speedily disposed of as satisfactorily. We have recently begun an exchange with Cornell University for the benefit of its May slavery and anti-slavery collections, one of the finest in America. The library, of which this is one section,

is made up largely of the collections of specialists. The Anthon Classical, the Bopp Oriental, the Goldwin Smith Historical, the White Architectural, the Kelly Mathematical, the Cornell Agricultural, the Great Britain Patent Office, the Jared Sparks and the Samuel J. May before referred to. It is pleasant to note that any gaps there may be in these separate libraries, for such they are, may be filled by drawing upon the McGraw Library Fund, given by Mrs. Fiske and now amounting to over seven hundred thousand dollars. There is a strange fascination about the companionship of such well selected libraries, especially where there are funds to revise and improve them. In fact, specialists are wisely looked up to in other departments than that of literature. We are again reminded by the death of a friend, whose collection had been enriched from our duplicate room, that "to him that hath shall be given." In the case referred to, the gentleman made careful search for the best known collection of church music, then quietly bequeathed his own to be incorporated therewith. It is a matter of regret that such a valuable working library as that of the late Hon. Henry C. Murphy, which was scattered by the recent auction sale in New York, could not have been kept intact by some leading university or other library corporation rich enough to build upon its foundation. In connection with the establishing of the Dr. George Chandler Genealogical Fund this day announced, it should be said that the Society's disposition to make speedy and good use of its duplicate material has been one inducement which has led him to present two hundred copies, practically the remainder of the edition, of his Chandler Family. In his absence your Librarian desires to say, that while Dr. Chandler has perhaps drawn more largely than any other member from our stores of local and family history, he has not only taken little of our time, but has given much of his own in guiding both visiting novice and expert into or out of the labyrinth of genealogy. His gift

is timely and his example worthy of imitation. The departments of biography, slavery and rebellion are in special need of such a helper. We have never attempted an auction sale of duplicates, either under the Society's name or otherwise, but the experiment may be worth trying. It has been our habit for many years to examine all catalogue lists of desiderata, and occasional sales have been made thereby. We have sometimes been able to serve our own membership with much needed rare books and it may be profitable for them to remember that our classification of duplicates is such that prompt replies can be made to enquiries respecting them. It is sometimes suggested that the Society should not give storage to so much apparently useless material, but what student of American history would advise us to be less inclusive? Shall we decline to receive insurance material? One of the finest collections in America has for a money consideration been helped towards completion by the addition to it of some of our duplicate pamphlets common in their day and so almost universally destroyed. Shall we refuse the books and sheets of type specimens issued in such large quantities by founders to advertise their business? Within the past month the eighteenth century collection, preserved by Dr. Thomas, has answered difficult questions as to the history of one of the oldest and best type founderies in England. The authorities desired were not found at the British Museum or elsewhere in Great Britain. Shall we throw out the catalogues, circulars and programmes of the academies and schools? If so, their centennial addresses will lack the enlivening flavor which comes with the historic knowledge of details. The bank bills must remain, for they have already furnished data for a history of their introduction into our country, and may again be needed; while the show bills may be called for by our industrious Treasurer to illustrate the curious history of a second Cardiff giant or some kindred work. But surely railroad reports



may be safely declined? Not so long as we are able to report as now a cash sale of fifty dollars worth of duplicates. You cannot be burdened with more than a single copy of the numberless college pamphlets? To which we make answer that four extra copies of Emerson's address before the senior class of 1827, in Harvard College, recently netted our treasury twelve dollars. But you can make no use of obsolete law books? We reply that twenty dollars' worth have just been forwarded in trade to a southern correspondent. Shall we stop the ingathering of newspapers or at least the binding of them? To this pertinent question a gentleman, who could not possibly have prepared his "Worcester Book" without them, answered, but a few days since, "What shall we do without them, and who will gather them if you do not?" Our collection is fast becoming a great burden, as it most surely is a great blessing and our stronghold. When both the daily and weekly of the same paper come to us it would seem wise to keep both, but to bind only the daily, though important articles would be found in the fifty-two weekly numbers, and thus do away with the examination of over three hundred numbers of the daily. That the cords of duplicates may sometime be called for is quite possible—a check for twelve dollars has lately been received for certain years of the *Liberator*—but that we may at any time realize their value as paper-waste and with the money buy the necessities of library life is absolutely certain. This latter remark will also apply as well to any other duplicate material which is likely to continue to be otherwise useless. Our honored President after such noble provision for our past, as well as our present, needs, may well submit the question of further extension to those who are to come after. Let us, however, so trust the future that we shall refuse nothing which is brought to the treasure-house, while at the same time we reserve the absolute right of the Council to sell, exchange, perpetually deposit or give as their

wise judgment may determine. Let us listen attentively to the words of our fellow-member, President Winsor of the American Library Association, spoken at the opening of the library building of the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, December 12, 1883: "The most costly nuggets of English libraries to-day, are the little six-penny play-books of Elizabeth's time, whose countless thousands perished with the reading and whose survivors are the chance waifs which have run the gauntlet of all sorts of vicissitudes. The purifiers and collectors of our English texts have taught us their value. Perhaps no one more than Macaulay has made manifest the wealth of historic illustrations existing in the ephemera of all ages. Mr. Edward Edwards, the chief English authority on library history and economy, has said the trash of one generation becomes the highly prized treasure of another. It is, to-day, the rule of the Bodleian, the British Museum and the other great libraries of Europe to reject nothing, having long ago learned the folly of discrimination, and I am glad to say that our chief American libraries follow the same rule."

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

*Librarian.*

## Donors and Donations.

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### FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M.**, Worcester. — Fifteen books; eighty-two pamphlets; seven photographs; four engravings; three daguerreotype views in California; one chart; and a collection of manuscript war letters and accounts, 1861-65.
- BARTON, WILLIAM S.**, Esq., Worcester. — The United States Record and Gazette, Vols. I.-VII., bound.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D.**, Worcester. — His "Descendants of William and Annis Chandler, who settled at Roxbury, Mass., 1637," two hundred copies.
- CHASE, CHARLES A.**, Esq., Worcester. — The Works of James Abram Garfield, edited by Hinsdale, two volumes, octavo; and seventeen selected pamphlets.
- DAMON, Rev. SAMUEL C.**, D.D., Honolulu, S. I. — His Luther Jubilee Sermon, Dec. 2, 1883.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L.**, Worcester. — Twenty books; one hundred and twenty-two pamphlets; and framed engravings of Charles Sumner and Trinity Church, Boston.
- FISCHER, Prof. HEINRICH**, Freiberg, Baden. — A number of the Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, containing critical articles by Dr. Fischer.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A.**, Boston. — His "Groton during the Indian Wars"; his Address at the celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of Lawrence Academy; the Groton Citizen, as issued; four books; one hundred and seventy-five pamphlets; and two maps.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S.**, Esq., Worcester. — His Gleanings from the History of the Second Parish, Worcester, ten copies; his Libraries and Schools, 1883; and his report of 1884, as librarian of the Free Public Library of Worcester.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS**, Esq., Worcester. — Two pamphlets.
- GUILD, REUBEN A.**, LL.D., Providence, R. I. — Brown University catalogue, 1883-84; and obituary notices of Rev. Edwin M. Stone and Nathan Bishop, LL.D.
- HALE, Rev. EDWARD E.**, D.D., Boston. — Report of the Louisiana State Board of Health for 1882 and 1883.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F.**, Worcester. — His Memoir of Samuel Hoar of Concord; two books; seventy-three pamphlets; Official Records of the War of the Rebellion; Congressional Record; Patent Office Gazette; and United States Consular Reports, in continuation.

- HOYT, ALBERT H., Esq., Boston. — Proceedings of the Society, five numbers; and one pamphlet.
- HUNNEWELL, JAMES F., Esq., Charlestown. — His "Historical Monuments of France."
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., Secretary, Worcester. — Report of the Joint-Committee on the Book of Common Prayer, appointed by the General Convention of 1880.
- JARVIS, EDWARD, M.D., Dorchester. — Four of his statistical and educational publications.
- JONES, Hon. HORATIO GATES, Philadelphia, Pa. — His History of the Baptist Church of Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, Pa.
- NELSON, Hon. THOMAS L., Worcester. — Three books; and seventy pamphlets.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester. — Colored theatrical lithographs, in continuation.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester. — Five books; one hundred and sixty-seven pamphlets; ninety-five numbers of magazines; one map; and files of three newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Clinton, Wis. — His American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, as issued.
- PEREZ, Señor ANDRES A., New York. — One file of Yucatan newspapers.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Ia. — His sermon at the consecration of Bishop Randolph; and the Iowa Churchman, as issued.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill. — His "German Mercenaries in the Revolutionary War."
- POORE, Maj. BEN: PERLEY, Washington, D. C. — His Oration at the Poor-Poore Family Reunion, September 14, 1881.
- PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G., Lexington. — Early drawings of the Lexington and Concord fights, with Mr. Porter's notes; photographs of a copper plate found at Castine, Maine, in August, 1863; and of Israel Trask, a soldier of the revolution; and a cannon ball from the British earthworks, Castine, 1779.
- PREBLE, Admiral GEORGE H., Brookline. — His "Ships of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"; and newspaper clippings relating to longevity.
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## THE PROVINCE LAWS.

BY HAMILTON B. STAPLES.

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THE four large volumes already published of the Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, prepared under chapter 87 of the Resolves of the General Court for the year 1867 by the Commissioners, Mr. Ellis Ames and Mr. Abner C. Goodell, embrace three-quarters of a century, viz.: from 1692-93 to 1768. These volumes supply abundant material for the history of the State as well as of many of its municipalities. They enable us to trace the development almost from germ life of our present system of laws and of government. They show us what the political and social life of the province was and the perpetuity of that life under new forms and conditions.

I propose briefly to examine this period in the light of these old statutes. It would be a dull task to take them up in detail; I can only consider such as possess some special historic interest and serve as a guide to the policy of the State in important public affairs. We are much nearer to the Province under the present Constitution than we are apt to suppose. In the frame of government and the grant of powers to the legislature and the executive, the old charter has been closely copied in that time-honored instrument, while the Bill of Rights very nearly corresponds to the Provincial Act of 1692-93, "setting forth general privileges." And in the first place the composition of the legislative body deserves a brief notice. The General Court consisted of the Governor, the Council and the House of Representatives. Legislative Acts, passed by the Council and the House in concurrence, required the

approval of the Governor. They were also subject to be disallowed by the Crown within three years after presentation to the Privy Council. The authority of the Legislature was limited by the Charter. The Governor was appointed by and during the pleasure of the Crown. The Council, twenty-eight in number, was chosen yearly by the General Court. The House of Representatives consisted of freeholders chosen to represent the respective towns according to a definite basis of apportionment. This was not popular, but municipal, representation. The Representatives were paid by the towns they respectively represented, the modest stipend at first of three shillings per day, a sure guarantee of short sessions. The Governor presided in the Council; the Speaker of the House was approved by the Governor. Such was the composition of the law-making power.

The next point is, the qualifications of electors. It was provided in the Charter that no one should vote in the election of Representatives who had not an estate of freehold in land within the province to the value of forty shillings per year, or other estate to the value of £40 sterling. The General Court provided in 1692-93, that no one should vote for town, precinct, or parish officers or for raising money by municipal taxation who had not ratable estate of the value of £20. And this became the settled policy of the Province.

The next point of inquiry naturally is, the organization of local governments. The first county organized was Dukes County in 1695. Nantucket was recognized as a County in 1726. Worcester County was established in 1731; Berkshire in 1760. Through the whole period Suffolk included nearly all of what is now Norfolk County. More than ninety Massachusetts towns owe their corporate existence to the legislation of this period. Each Act of Incorporation signifies a fresh portion of God's earth reclaimed from barbarism by heroic toil and suffering.

The natural order of municipal growth was, first, the plantation, then the district, then the town. It is curious to see how nearly the town organization of that day corresponds with what it is now.

Before proceeding farther with this review, it may be observed that scattered through these statutes are numerous temporary laws and acts "for reviving laws expired or near expiring." We also find that the Legislature was in the habit of placing in the same statute distinct subjects of legislation. To both of these practices the King objected. Quite early in the life of the Province the General Court was advised to enact laws without limitation of time—also to enact them singly, and under distinct titles. To neither of these suggestions did the Legislature pay the slightest heed. It was reserved for the statesmen of a much later day to appreciate their wisdom. The union of Church and State is a prominent feature of provincial legislation. As early as 1692-93, every town was required to support a minister. The minister must be "a person of good conversation, able, learned, and orthodox." He was chosen to his sacred office in town meeting. The town was empowered to contract with the minister and was then obliged to live up to the contract. The neglect of a town to make suitable provision for its minister was redressed by the Court, and measures were taken that no town should be destitute of a minister. In 1706-07, a town destitute of, or not supporting, its minister according to the contract was liable to indictment, and if the orders of the Court in that behalf were not obeyed the General Court enforced the same, adding to the town's proportion of the taxes the sum required to pay the settled minister his rightful salary or to supply a proper compensation for a minister sent by the General Court, if the town was then destitute.

The minister was exempt from taxation, watch and ward, and military duty. In 1728, Quakers and Anabaptists were exempted from taxation for the support of ministers, and

in 1742 the ministerial taxes of persons attending the Church of England were allowed to be paid to their own minister. The law not only enforced the payment of the minister's salary but also the attendance of his congregation. As late as 1760, absence from public worship for one month without sufficient cause, was fined ten shillings.

In respect to the diffusion of learning, two Acts were passed for the incorporation of Harvard College; one in 1692-93, the other in 1697, both of which were disallowed by the Privy Council on the ground that no power was reserved to the King to appoint Visitors. In 1692-93 every town of fifty householders was required to maintain a school-master to teach reading and writing, and where there were one hundred families or householders, a grammar school. This was the foundation of the present school system.

I pass from the church and the school to the judicial system. Under the new Charter, the English practice was introduced of commissioning certain persons in each county as Justices of the Peace, to whom was presently given a civil jurisdiction as to sums less than forty shillings. The further organization of the courts was accomplished by a succession of statutes.

In 1692, the Court of Quarter Sessions was established in each county, consisting of the magistrates of the county with the same authority in criminal cases as the county courts of the colony had possessed, with a grand and petit jury, and having jurisdiction of appeals from a single magistrate.

In 1699, the Court of General Sessions was established in each county, held for more than a hundred years by the justices of the county. This court had jurisdiction of the lighter class of criminal offences, including appeals from a single magistrate, while the jurisdiction of pleas of the Crown of a higher grade was vested in the superior court of judicature, sitting as a court of assize and general jail delivery.



The civil jurisdiction was divided near the close of the seventeenth century between the inferior Court of Common Pleas, constituted in each county with four justices residing therein to hear and determine all civil actions triable at the common law, and the Superior Court of Judicature, a court of general jurisdiction consisting of one chief justice and four other justices, having jurisdiction of appeals from the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and original jurisdiction of all actions of the value of ten pounds and upwards, or where the freehold was concerned. To this court was assigned the same place in the system as was assigned in England to the Common Pleas, the King's Bench, and the Exchequer. The Court of General Sessions had the management of county affairs. Courts of Probate were established in each county for the settlement of the estates of deceased persons. Two Chancery Courts were successively instituted, one in 1692-93, to be held by the Governor or such other as he should appoint to be Chancellor with eight or more of the Council with full equity powers, and the other in 1693-94, to be held by three Commissioners with the same powers. But the acts establishing these courts were both disallowed by the King, and Massachusetts remained without any equity jurisdiction except a limited authority conferred upon the Superior Court to give equitable relief against bonds and the forfeiture of estates on condition, and also to enter up conditional judgments in actions upon mortgages.

In every civil action there might be two jury trials, the second either by review in the court where the case was first tried, or if it was first tried in the Inferior Court, then on appeal to the Superior Court. Great care was taken to have impartial juries, and a property qualification was required for a juror. In the Superior Court, three constituted a quorum, and all questions of law were thus settled *at nisi prius*. The compensation of the judges, clerks, sheriffs, criers and jailers, consisted of fees derived from the cases. Thus all concerned in the administration of jus-

tice were jointly interested to have as much litigation as possible, and to have the litigation indefinitely prolonged. As a gentle encouragement to judicial efficiency in 1692, a fee of six shillings was allowed the justices of the highest court "in all criminal cases where a fine is set."

A large number of these statutes are revenue statutes. The main sources of the revenue were taxation, duties on imports, and the excise. The scheme of taxation, based on polls and property, was much the same as it is now. The exempted persons for a long time after 1696, were the elders of churches, settled ministers, the President, Fellows and students of Harvard College, grammar school-masters and such others as through infirmity or poverty were unable to pay. To this list in 1767-68, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and their families, the Professors and Hebrew instructor of Harvard College had been added, and from it the elders of churches omitted. The exemption not only covered the polls, but also the estates of the exempted persons. I do not find in these statutes any exemption of church property from taxation. In making assessments, houses and lands were estimated at six years' yearly rent. In the case of landlord and tenant, the landlord reimbursed the tenant one-half the tax. Slaves were estimated as personal property; oxen, cows, horses, swine, goats and sheep were assessed at fixed values.

The provincial tariff of 1767 serves to indicate the fixed policy of the province in laying duties on imposts. It provided for both specific and *ad valorem* duties. The duty upon every pipe of wine was five shillings, upon every hogshead of rum, eight shillings; all other articles were taxed fourpence for every twenty shillings in value. From the operation of this tariff were excepted all articles, the product or manufacture of Great Britain, and all foreign articles imported from Great Britain, either directly or through the channel of his Majestys' colonies. It was further provided, that upon all goods and merchandise imported

by inhabitants of other provinces or colonies on this continent, or of the English West India islands, in vessels belonging to such inhabitants, a duty should be paid on every pipe of wine, ten shillings; every hogshead of rum, sixteen shillings; every hogshead of sugar, eightpence; every hogshead of molasses, eightpence; every hogshead of tobacco, twenty shillings; and on all other commodities, eightpence for every twenty shillings of value (all articles, the growth or product of said provinces or colonies being excepted, save tobacco). This tariff, a fine illustration of the moderation and forbearance of our fathers, accomplished three objects: First, it opened our ports free to British goods, and goods brought here in British vessels, whether directly or indirectly through the other colonies; second, it crippled the inter-colonial trade; third, it secured to British ships the carrying trade of the English West India islands. We are not to forget that all these advantages were secured to Great Britain by the province, at the price of increased taxation at home and the surrender of commercial prosperity.

The third means of revenue was the excise, which was principally laid upon distilled spirits, wine, and limes, lemons and oranges, "used and consumed in making punch or otherwise for sale by taverners and inn-holders only." This excise was a tax upon sales at retail, and required a report of the stock and of sales, and many other safeguards to render it effective. It was the law by which in that day, the sale of intoxicating liquor was in part regulated. There was another method of raising money, and that was by lotteries. In the early days of the province, laws were passed for the suppression of lotteries as common nuisances, but in the course of time the feeling against them appears to have changed. After 1750, they became a favored method of raising money. They were resorted to by legislative authority to raise money for paving the mill-dam, repairing Faneuil Hall, building a new hall for the

students at Harvard, clearing out obstructions in rivers, making bridges, and supplying the wants of the treasury.

I pass from economic legislation to a brief consideration of the criminal code. By two acts passed in 1692-93, idolatry, witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked spirits, conjuration, blasphemy, treason, murder, devilish practise, concealment of the death of a bastard child, sodomy, bestiality, incest, rape, burning and piracy were made capital offences. These acts by reason of their disallowance did not become a part of the criminal code. For that we must look to other statutes. It appears by a comparison of these statutes that a code grew up and expanded to meet the wants or reflect the opinions of the time. And first, in respect of capital offences, the legislation in its chronological order is worthy a place here. I give a list of the capital offences with the date of the enactment by which each became capital : —

1692-93. Breaking into a dwelling-house, ware-house, shop, mill, malt-house, barn, out-house, or any ship or vessel ; a third conviction.

1692-93. Robbery in the field or highway ; a third conviction.

1694. Polygamy.

1696. Treason, concealment of the death of a bastard child, piracy and robbing upon the sea.

1697. Murder, rape, and the sin against nature.

1700. Escape from prison of Romish priests adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment for coming into, or remaining in, the Province after September 10, 1700.

1705. Burning a dwelling-house, a public building, a barn having corn, hay or grain therein, a mill, malt-house, store-house, shop, or ship.

1706. Correspondence with the French or Indian enemy, removing to or residing in the enemy's territory, and sending supplies to the enemy.

1711. Robbery on the highway ; a second conviction.

1714. Altering the bills of credit of the Province.

1715. Breaking into a dwelling-house in the night time with intent to commit felony.

1728. Killing a person in a duel.

1735. Counterfeiting the bills of credit of the Province.

1736. Larceny of property of the value of three pounds ; a third offence ; the second being larceny of property of the value of forty shillings.

It will be observed that the tendency of the age was to resort more and more to capital punishment.

Passing now to other offences, atheism and blasphemy were punished by imprisonment not exceeding six months and until sureties for good behavior were furnished, by the pillory, by whipping, boring through the tongue with a red hot iron or being set on the gallows with a rope round the neck, in the discretion of the court. Perjury was punished by a fine of twenty pounds and imprisonment for six months, and if the fine was not paid, by the pillory and the nailing of both ears. Forgery subjected the offender to pay double costs and damages to the injured party, to be set upon the pillory and there to have one of his ears cut off and to be imprisoned one year. The burglar was branded on the forehead with the letter B upon the first conviction, and upon the second was set upon the gallows with a rope about his neck for one hour, and severely whipped, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, and in both cases was required to pay treble damages to the injured party. Adultery subjected the offender to be set on the gallows with a rope around the neck cast over the gallows and to be whipped on the way thither not more than forty stripes, and for ever afterwards to wear the capital letter A, two inches long and proportionally large, cut out in cloth of a color different from the clothing, sewed on the outside of the arm or on the back, and as often as found without the letter to receive fifteen stripes. Drunkenness and profanity were each punished by a fine of five shillings ; if the

same was not paid, by the stocks. Theft was peculiarly dealt with. The offender was required to forfeit to the owners of the property stolen treble its value, and to be further punished by a fine or by whipping, and if he was unable to make restitution or pay such damages, he was enjoined to make satisfaction in service and was so disposed of for such time as might be ordered by the court. The compulsory payment of damages to the party injured by crimes affecting property has entirely disappeared from our criminal code, but the wisdom of the change is still open to question. I have not the space to refer to all the offences for the punishment of which provision is made in these statutes. I will, however, advert to a few laws characteristic of the time, such as the law requiring every person to apply himself to "the duties of religion and piety, publicly and privately" on the Lord's day, and forbidding on that day or the evening previous labor and sports, travelling, swimming, walking in the streets or fields, the entertainment at public houses of any except strangers and lodgers; the law forbidding "stage plays, interludes and other theatrical entertainments;" the law forbidding the giving at funerals of scarves, wine, rum, rings or gloves, except a limited number of the latter to the bearers and the minister; the law forbidding the removal of dead bodies for the purpose of sorcery; the law requiring single persons of either sex, being minors, to live "under some orderly family government"; and lastly, the law consigning to the house of correction, rogues and vagabonds, jugglers, persons "feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or pretending that they can tell destinies, fortunes, or discover where lost or stolen goods may be found," and other disorderly persons including common pipers and fiddlers, against whom legislative hostility has not yet been overcome. All these statutes reflect, as in a glass, the condition of the time, the evils, real or supposed, of which society sought to rid itself, and

the degree of intelligence applied to the solution of political and social questions.

A sketch of the provincial laws would be very incomplete without a somewhat extended reference to the financial policy, especially the paper money system. It will appear that our fathers tried an experiment from which a lesson was learned, never to be forgotten by Province or State. The public bills of credit of the Province were issued almost from the first, not only to enable the Province to pay the expenses of the government, but also to supply loans of money to the several towns. In the latter respect the State became a banking institution. The bills were distributed to each town, according to its proportion to a certain sum set in the valuation acts, and the towns by their Trustees were authorized to loan the same at interest on good real estate or personal security at six pounds per cent. per annum. Up to 1727 this system seems to have worked well. In the preamble of an act passed in that year for a further remission of bills of credit, it is recited, "whereas the public bills of credit on this province, which have for a great length of time happily served this government both in war and peace, and enabled the inhabitants thereof to pay their public dues, are now become very scarce by reason they are in a great measure already drawn in." But in 1738, only eleven years after, the preamble of an act for better securing the value of the bills of credit tells a different story: "whereas the emission of great quantities of bills of public credit without certain provision for their redemption by lawful money in convenient time, have already stripped us of all our money and brought them into contempt, to the great scandal of the government." It appears that, between these two dates, authority had been given for the issue of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit, a part of which may have consisted of a re-issue of bills once drawn in. In 1736, £18,000 were issued in the old form and nine

thousand of a new form. And in the tax granted for drawing the same in, a distinction was made between the two kinds of bills which continued for some time in all the grants of taxes, viz. : that the tax might be paid in bills of the new tenor at their face value, or in bills of the old tenor in the proportion of three to one. This indicates that the old bills had sunk below one-third the value of coined silver, and the discredit thus put upon them by the Legislature caused them to depreciate still more. In 1737-38, an act was passed for the issue of £20,000 of the new tenor, and it was provided that all public and private debts which might be discharged by bills of the old tenor, should be discharged by bills of the new tenor in proportion as one for three. In the progress of the new tenor issue, thirty thousand pounds in bills of fractional currency were issued, viz. : £2625 to each of the small denominations. Even after this legislation, the issue of £80,000 in bills of credit of the old tenor was authorized and it was provided that twenty shillings in those bills should be equal to £6 8d. in bills of the new tenor. In 1741, bills of a still newer form were issued, upon which it was expressed that they shall be "accepted in all payments and in the treasury." It was further provided by law that one shilling of these bills should answer to four in bills of the old tenor. To keep these bills from depreciating it was made penal to purchase silver at any higher rate than was provided in the act as the value in silver coin of the bills themselves. In the tax levies after this time, payments might be made in bills of the old tenor in the proportion of four to one as compared with bills of the new tenor. Then followed for the next ten years the rapid issue of bills of the new tenor, amounting in all to upwards of half a million pounds. The taxes granted for drawing them in allowed payment to be made in the new tenor bills or in the old tenor bills, the latter as four to one of the former. Misery and distress followed in the wake of this flood of paper money. It



simply went back and forth between the people and the public treasury, the depreciation of its value constantly necessitating the increase of its volume. The loans to the towns were not paid, and the security given, in a majority of cases, proved insufficient. Coin being put in competition with paper as a commodity rapidly rose in value. The taxes granted for drawing in the bills were not promptly paid and a resort was had to new issues to meet the emergency. In the language of Mr. Hildreth, "this great and rapid fall had contributed to open people's eyes to the true character of the paper money. All debts, rents, salaries, and fixed sums payable at a future period, had experienced an enormous and most unjust curtailment. The paper bills, a legal tender at their nominal amount, had been made the instruments of cruel frauds upon widows, orphans, and all the more helpless members of society." After violent contests between the creditor and the debtor classes, sounder financial views prevailed, and the destruction of the paper money system was soon accomplished. The paper money of the province now amounted to two million two hundred thousand pounds sterling. The scheme for its redemption, adopted in 1748-49, was as follows: One hundred and eighty-three thousand and six hundred and forty-nine pounds sterling, money granted by Parliament to reimburse this province for its outlay in taking and securing Cape Breton, was used for the redemption of the paper money. For every forty-five shillings of the old tenor, and for every eleven shillings threepence of the new tenor, eight shillings in silver was given. The privilege of redemption was to cease on and after March 31, 1750, and it was provided as a further means of redemption that a tax of £75,000 should be imposed, payable in bills of the new tenor or the middle tenor, according to their face, or in bills of the old tenor counting four to one, or in Spanish milled dollars at the rate of 3s. 11d. each. After the application of these measures, on

account of the delay in the payment of taxes and other accidents, there was still a larger sum in bills of credit outstanding than there was silver in the treasury to redeem. And in 1750-51, the General Court provided that one-eighth of the remaining bills should be immediately redeemed in silver, and for the remaining seven-eighths an order should be given to each holder upon the Treasurer to pay the amount in lawful silver money at six shillings eightpence per ounce, or in Spanish milled dollars at six shillings a piece, by December 31, 1751, with a premium of one per cent. and lawful interest from March 31 till paid. It is a curious fact, so great had become the fears of the people of the paper money, that even these orders suffered a serious depreciation. But the great work was successfully done, and upon a coin basis the finances of the province were thereafter strictly conducted. It may be added that silver was at first the sole standard, at six shillings eightpence per ounce, while the value of silver bullion was five shillings sevenpence per ounce.

Closely allied to the question of financial policy is that of private credit. As early as 1692 an Act was passed making lands and tenements liable to the payment of debts, and making void conveyances in fraud of creditors. The preamble was, "whereas the estates of persons within this province, do chiefly consist of houses and lands which give them credit, some being remiss in paying of their just debts, others happening to dye before they have discharged the same." This Act was at first disallowed by the King, but became a law in 1696. According to Chalmers's unpublished MS. the continuation of his *Polit. Annals*, much of the populousness and of the commerce of the province was owing to this statute. I know of no two laws which mark so well the spirit of the people or produced such lasting consequences as this law, the source of private credit, and the law for the redemption of the province bills by which the public credit was re-established.

The next topic in the natural order, is the state of the law in regard to the transmission of property. I shall only notice in this connection the law for the distribution of intestate estates. As early as 1692-93, one-third part of the personal estate was given to the widow besides her dower in the houses and lands, and all the rest of the real and personal estate by equal portions to the children, except that the eldest son had two shares or a double portion. This state of the law continued for the whole seventy-five years. It was a radical departure from the law of primogeniture, and yet it shows the influence which that law still retained in the province. The preamble of the statute on this point shows that the division of the land among the children did not arise from a sense of natural justice, but from very practical considerations; "whereas estates in these plantations do consist chiefly of lands which have been subdued and brought to improvement by the industry and labors of the proprietors with the assistance of their children, the younger children generally having been longest and most serviceable unto their parents in that behalf, who have not personal estates to give out unto them in portions or otherwise to recompense their labors."

The statutes respecting trade and manufactures possess great historical interest. In 1736-37, it was provided that the taxes might be paid in certain commodities, "being of the produce or manufactures of this province." The articles enumerated are: hemp, flax, winter and Isle of Sable codfish, refined bar iron, bloomery iron, hollow iron ware, Indian corn, rye, wheat, barley, pork, beef, duck or canvas, whalebone, cordage, train oil, beeswax, bayberry wax, tallow, peas, sheep's wool, and tanned sole-leather. This list clearly marks the extent of manufactures at that time. The statutes indicate how strong an effort was made to introduce them, and how futile that effort was as opposed to the policy of England. Monopolies were granted for the manufacture of paper, linseed oil, and other articles.

In 1730, a bounty was offered upon hemp. Upon the increase of that bounty and the offer of a bounty for flax in 1734-35, the Lords of Trade entered the following order, December 5, 1735: "With regard to that giving bounties upon hemp and flax, ordered that Gov<sup>r</sup>. Belcher, Col. Dunbar and the surveyor of the customs be wrote to, to know how that premium upon flax operates, whether they have any view of setting up linnen manufactures there, and whether it was given with that view, whether they have any prospect of Irish people going there to instruct them in that manufacture."

In 1753, an Act was passed, granting a tax on coaches, chariots, and certain other carriages, to encourage the manufacture of linen. With reference to this Act, the Lords of Trade wrote to Gov. Shirley, April 13, 1756: "The passage of laws in the Plantations for encouraging manufactures which anyways interfere with the manufactures of this kingdom has always been thought improper and has ever been discouraged \* \* \*. And altho, the great importation of foreign linnens does in some sort take off the objection to a linnen manufacture in the colonys, yet as Parliament has lately and particularly this year given great encouragement to this manufacture here, we desire you will be cautious of assenting to laws of this kind for the future."

The various laws for the assessment of taxes enable us to see what was the relative progress of the several counties in taxable wealth during this period. I have compared an assessment in 1694 to raise £9559, one of 1736 to raise £29,953, and one of 1767 to raise £40,000. It will appear that the relative tax of Suffolk constantly diminished, while that of the other counties increased. Of the whole tax in 1694, Boston paid a little over one-sixth, of the whole tax in 1767 a little over one-ninth. The increase of Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex in taxable property did not materially differ. Hampshire, lowest in

the scale in 1694, was, seventy-five years later, higher than Barnstable, Bristol or Plymouth. In the seventy-five years the increase of Plymouth and Bristol was more than double that of Barnstable. Worcester in thirty years, from being taxed one-third the amount of Middlesex, came to be taxed nearly the same. The relative growth of the agricultural counties in taxable wealth was greater than that of the counties on the seaboard. During the period discussed, the wealth of the province had slowly increased by the extension of the area of cultivated land, but had not consolidated in the centres of population so as to allow the free use of capital or the diffusion of a spirit of enterprise. This is indicated by the fact that wages, interest and the cost of living remained nearly the same. In 1692, the witness fee in the higher courts was substantially the same as it was seventy years later. In 1727 the jury fee was 1s. 6d. in each case; forty years later it was but 2s. In 1692-93, the sum allowed per week for the diet of a prisoner was 2s. 6d.; seventy years later it was but four shillings. There was no change in the fixed rate for the assessment of oxen, cows, horses and swine between 1696 and 1767. In the assize of bread, the weight of the penny loaf, the Penny Wheaten and the Penny Household was not different in 1720 from what it had been twenty-five years before, having regard to the same grades of wheat, and in 1748, good winter wheat was received for taxes at a price showing no advance since 1720.

The laws to which reference has now been made imply a condition of peace. There was, however, during this period, legislation of a sterner character, suited to a state of war and commotion. In 1697, Haverhill and Andover were attacked by the Indians, and in 1708, Boston was itself in danger. The province was engaged in almost perpetual Indian war from 1692 to 1710. In 1757, after the fall of Fort Oswego and Fort William Henry, Mr. Hildreth says, "Indian scalping parties penetrated into

the very centre of Massachusetts." In 1760, the scourge of Indian warfare had visited New England six times in eighty-five years. In civilized warfare, the soldiers of Massachusetts had fought in the battles of Lake George under Williams and Pomeroy in 1755, in the disastrous assault upon Ticonderoga, and the brilliant capture of Louisburg in 1758, and in the final capture of Quebec in 1759. The statute book bristles with Acts for raising and equipping troops, for the definition and punishment of military offences and for securing concerted military operations.

The laws with regard to the Indians clearly indicate the perils of the time. As it regards the subject Indians, the idea of civil guardianship pervades the legislation, but in respect to the hostile Indians the law is animated with the spirit of merciless extermination. Instructed by the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb, the General Court called them "Indian rebels." They were forbidden to approach within a defined distance of the frontiers. They were hunted with savage dogs, for the training of which for the purpose a bounty was paid. The captives in war, including the women and children above the age of twelve years, were sold into slavery and transported. A premium was offered for the scalp of any male Indian of the age of twelve or upwards, "bonâ fide slain," one instance, surely, of the *bona fide* treatment of Indians.

The expulsion of the French Neutrals of Acadie, a war measure in which the government of this province participated, and by which seven thousand inoffensive persons who had taken no part in the war, men, women and children, were torn from their homes and lands and the graves of their kindred, one thousand dispersed in the towns of this province and the rest sent to the southern colonies or the West India islands, the saddest story of exile since the Jewish captivity, appears on the statute book in the form of an Act providing for the support of

these exiles in the towns to which they had been assigned. Dr. Metcalf, in his "Annals of Mendon," states that "as late as 1764, five of them were still living in Mendon."

There are no enactments in this long array of statutes that indicate more clearly the dangers and the necessities of the time, and the courage with which these dangers and necessities were met, than those designed to prevent the desertion of the frontiers. In 1694-95, the frontier towns were declared to be Amesbury, Haverhill, Dunstable, Chelmsford, Groton, Lancaster, Marlborough and Deerfield. By a statute passed in 1699-1700, Brookfield, Mendon and Woodstock were added to the list, and Salisbury, Andover, Billerica, Hatfield, Hadley, Westfield and Northampton, though not frontier towns, were recognized as exposed to the same danger. The desertion of these towns without leave of the Governor or Commander-in-Chief and the Council was forbidden. Any inhabitant having a freehold estate therein at the time of an insurrection or the breaking out of a war, removing therefrom without leave, forfeited his estate, and any person so removing who had no estate in lands incurred a forfeiture of at least ten pounds. The last statute especially directed to the safety of the frontiers was passed in 1722-23.

Near the close of the fourth volume occurs the statute granting compensation to Thomas Hutchinson, Andrew Oliver, Benjamin Hallowell, jr., and William Story for their losses in the Stamp Act Riot; also, granting indemnity to the offenders. In this Act emerges into view the shadow of the Revolution.

All through these volumes there is an atmosphere of repression. The province was allowed to manufacture nothing that could come into competition with the manufactures of England. Although our people yielded to this claim they never believed in its justice, and as time passed on it proved more and more detrimental to the prosperity of the State. The necessity of a change was one under-

lying cause of the Revolution. When the interests of a weaker people are systematically sacrificed to those of a stronger, a separation is but a question of ability and time. In looking over these statutes the folly of English statesmen is more and more apparent. It is strange that it could have been believed that a province whose own Legislature had for seventy-five years granted the taxes, levied duties and excises, established and enforced a criminal code, regulated the descent and conveyance of property, issued bills of credit, raised armies and directed campaigns, in short, exercised all the essential functions of sovereignty, would ever allow the right of the Home Parliament, in which they were not represented, to impose taxes on them without their assent.

I trust that this excursion into the border land of our civic history, may not be foreign to the purpose of a society whose organization dates back almost to the province, and whose library hall, to-day, occupies a spot where in the early days the sentinel nightly kept his post upon the menaced frontier.



## THE STONE IMPLEMENTS OF ASIA.

BY HEINRICH FISCHER,  
FREIBURG, BADEN.

[This paper, from the pen of our distinguished foreign associate, Prof. Heinrich Fischer, of Freiburg, is a valuable and acceptable contribution upon a subject which has hitherto received but little attention. The Professor ranks as a very high authority in the matter of Nephrites and Jadeites, as the exhaustive treatise which he has published will testify; and his theory as to their original locality is now provoking discussion in the European Journals and "Zeitschriften" of Archaeology. In connection with this paper we will refer the reader to Dr. Valentini's article at page 288 of Vol. I. of the current series of our Proceedings.—PUB. COM.]

### INDIA.

THE comparative studies that I have undertaken into the form and substance of prehistoric stone celts, were greatly advanced in the past months by the receipt of various specimens from the interior of the East Indies. For these specimens I am under great obligations to Mr. Rivett-Carnac in Allahabad, who, during a visit to Germany made himself fully conversant with the many questions connected with such relics, and now, in union with Mr. Cockburn, devotes his time and energy to the meritorious task of bringing the prehistoric discoveries made in those countries before the eyes and to the knowledge of the scientific world. These gentlemen, moreover, were so kind as to present me with a number of East Indian stone implements, since deposited by me in our museum, and also to furnish me with a series of interesting notes which they took at the localities investigated. Mr. Rivett writes: "Mr. Cockburn and I in the last year had the good luck to unearth in Banda (a hilly district of the north-west provinces of the Indian Empire), west from Allahabad, a large number of ancient stone implements.<sup>1</sup> Most of them are stone axes or celts, of that shape which is so well known in Europe. The other specimens consist of stone hammers, ring stones and a variety of other implements, of which one portion

<sup>1</sup> I call attention to the fact that stone implements, taken from the same places, have already been illustrated and described in a work written by V. Ball. *Jungle Life in India*; London, 1880, 8vo. See my report on them in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, 1880, vol. xiii., pages 162-166.

possesses a rather cosmopolitan character while others are quite unique. We gathered more than four hundred celts, one portion of which are of a polished diorite and the others are chipped and of basalt.<sup>1</sup> We arrived at the conclusion that both varieties had been in use at one and the same epoch.<sup>2</sup> Implements of genuine palæolithic character made of quartzite are seldom found in the Banda district, but are found more numerous south of it. The celts vary in length and weight, from 12½ inches in length and 3 ounces in weight down to 2½ inches and ¾ ounce." The stone hammers, which are unique of their kind, and the largest and most remarkable celts, were presented to the British Museum<sup>3</sup> by Mr. Rivett. The director of the Kensington Museum has offered to have casts made of the most interesting specimens, to be distributed among the most notable museums and scientific societies.

In a comparison between a few rough specimens and the nuclei of jasper and hornstein with European and other silex specimens, it was demonstrated that the method of working this kind of mineral has been the same throughout the world. As to the nuclei, however, the puzzle as to how our predecessors succeeded in working them still remains unsolved. The endeavors made by the mineralogists of to-day *to shape them* have been in vain. Possibly, it was in the laborious way which I lately described in the "Correspondenz Blatt der Deutschen Anthropol: Gesellschaft, 1883, No. 2, page 11. The East Indian silexes

<sup>1</sup> Celts, said to be of basalt, were also sent to us. Upon closer examination their diagnosis gave us a very different result, about which we shall speak later.

<sup>2</sup> I was not a little pleased to learn that our East Indian friends arrived independently at the same result as we did concerning a contemporaneous use of struck and polished implements. With "Quartzite," I suppose certain varieties of flint were meant, for, at least in Europe, very few objects of this substance are termed quartzite by mineralogists.

<sup>3</sup> Upon preliminary information being sought for in London, we learned that the celts in question have not yet been subjected to any exact mineralogical examination. Therefore it remains undecided whether Nephrite or Jadeites are among them or not.

(chert) mentioned, which are almost equal to our jasper, were taken from nodules and bands met with in the Tirk-howan limestone; the agates came from the river beds which break through the Bewah-côglomerates, South Banda.

A larger collection of hornstone implements than has ever before existed was made by Mr. Cockburn. It exhibits the following characteristics: the scrapers and knives are of the same shape as those found in Europe; so also, in general, the celts. Certain specimens bear a striking resemblance to those silexes which up to this day are peculiar to Egypt (see Inkes Brown, in *Zeitschrift für Anthropologie*, vol. vii.). A third variety, rarely met, is termed by him "a saw-backed knife," and was recently found on the island of Melos. The rougher sorts of stone knives made of quartz, sandstone and basalt do not differ much from those which are still in use among the Australian savages.

The arrow-heads approach the American shape more than any other. This, however, is ascribed by Mr. Rivett to the fact that America has furnished us with more material for comparison than any other portion of the world. Both gentlemen arrived at the conclusion that these stone implements must have been in general use with the Kolairi and Dravidi aborigines, who inhabited the district of Bundelkund (environs of Allahabad) about the year 500 B. C. and who totally abandoned it about 600 A. D. In one of Mr. Rivett's letters a photograph was enclosed, representing a somewhat rude stone sculpture, which was discovered by Mr. Cockburn at Kalinjar. He assigns it to the seventh century after Christ. I am still expecting more particulars concerning this interesting discovery and I will then give a wood-cut of it, but for the present a short description must suffice. The sculpture represents the figure of a man, clothed with something like a shirt reaching to the knees, without sleeves and with a girdle around the waist; the feet are bare; the head is

covered with a high cap. The man holds in the right hand a large staff resting on the shoulders, and at the top of this staff is inserted an axe of obtuse, triangular form, and no fastening of this axe by cords is visible. The same figure in its left hand holds another instrument in a perpendicular manner and not reaching higher than the head. It appears to represent something like the pestle of a mortar and is encircled in the middle with a broad ribbon. Most of the implements mentioned were dug out from a Ganges alluvium, near Bundelkund, whose formation does not reach back to antiquity. The alluvium itself consists of a detritus of basalt, which crops out on the margin of the Jumna river.

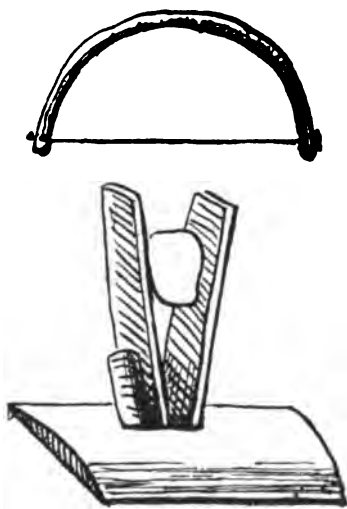
Here a few remarks of a germane nature may be of interest to the student. I would refer to the primitive way in which rocks and stones are lifted and handled in the Indies. They suggest the methods which the ancients may have employed in the construction of the menhist and dolmens which are found not only in Europe but also in India. I quote these remarks from Mr. Ball's *Manual of the Geology of India*, a work which is not so well known to archæologists as it deserves to be on account of its instructive contents. Discussing certain illustrations given in his work, Mr. Ball says: "Plate VIII. is a representation of a form of a frame which is used in Northern India for the purpose of lifting large blocks of stone. The first step in the construction of one of these frames is to lash two strong beams of timber on either side of the stone; they are crossed by other beams, and so on, till they come down to the bamboo cross-bars, each of which accommodates two coolies. Thus on their shoulders, a large number of men are enabled to bear each a fraction of the weight of a very large mass of stone. In general terms it is said that the weight of the frame is about equal to that of the mass to be lifted. That by some such arrangements the megalithic buildings of early times were supplied with stones, is very probable. Another method known to the natives for

moving large masses of stone, was to piece together very solid wooden wheels round the prismatic masses of stone which thus acted as axles. By means of strong cables worked by very crude forms of windlass, these were made to roll in the required direction; for a reproduction of a native drawing of this process reference should be made to the paper quoted below."

Mr. F. Jagor in Berlin, who in the *Correspondenz Blatt der Deutschen Anthropol: Gesellschaft*, vol. xiv., 1883, No. 7, page 56, calls attention to the passage above quoted; adds thereto the following remark: "In such villages of India as are built on rocky soil, the people select a proper place *in situ* for the purpose of sharpening their tools, and plunge the latter into natural clefts, which clefts, however, through constant grinding are hollowed out to such a degree as to form regular rills, the actual origin of which has been a puzzle to many travellers." (See Ball's Manual

[Cut 1.]

of the Geology of India, l. c., p. 561.)<sup>1</sup>



In a letter to this writer, Mr. Jagor also describes the process he had seen in Srinagur, province of Kaschmir, for cutting rock crystal by means of iron wire and emery. The crystal was wedged between two pieces of wood and the wire stretched into an elastic arc (see cut 1). Mr. Jagor finally quotes Ball, vol. iv., pages 507-514, on the cutting and polishing of

agate and jasper in India.

<sup>1</sup> As far as I know the author holds the position of an interpreter with the R. I. Embassy of Austria, in Japan.

## CHINA.

The subject of Japanese stone celts has been recently treated in a separate work (1879), upon which we shall report in a future article. Of Chinese stone celts and implements, however—at least as far as my knowledge goes—very little is known. Despite a correspondence extending over almost the whole of Europe, I was able to discover but a single specimen, which exists in the private museum of Mr. John Evans in London. It is described as being of nephrite; but upon an examination which I made of it, I think I am not mistaken in determining it to be of fibrolithe. What claimed my attention was its edge, which did not bevel gradually, but was straight, exactly as we are accustomed to observe in our lacustrine celts, and which circumstance is generally attributed to a continued sharpening of the edge. My knowledge of Chinese stone implements was recently much increased through the kindness of Dr. Paul Lohmann, one of my pupils, who visited London to continue his studies in archæological mineralogy, and I shall comment briefly on the results which he gained in his search for Chinese stone objects in the London Museum. In the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum, under the direction of Sir Philip E. Owen, two idols are deposited, which were sent by Sir D. Forsyth from Jarkand and are probably of jade; also an ornament and a mouth-piece of jade (museum numbers 1939, 1942, and 1944). Until now, I have been only acquainted with nephrites taken from Jarkand (N. W. Khotan), and they were crude and unwrought specimens. The brothers von Schlagintweit, despite the efforts which they made, could not discover any traces in those quarries that nephrite had been wrought there, either recently or anciently. The specimens mentioned, therefore, appear to me to be the first instances of this mineral being there an object of workmanship.

In the new portion of the British Museum, at South

Kensington, in the Natural History Section, under the direction of Sir L. Fletcher, a small stone celt, said to be from China, is deposited. Its specific weight is 3.29 (Jadeite?), 12<sup>cm</sup> in length. Its basis is a dirty greenish white; the edge green white; its shape is as usual and it is not perforated.

In the Indian Section of the same museum celt-formed objects are also deposited, to which Dr. S. W. Burchell, who sent them from India, had called my attention. They are said to be made of jade; their mineralogical diagnosis, however, is as yet not definitely secured. They show colors varying from a dark coffee-brown to a yellowish green, and at least four out of every six are remarkable for being engraved with antique Chinese characters—the names of their former possessors. Stones of this sort are said to be very scarce. Their Chinese name is “Yao-chan,” medicine spattles, and they were used for cutting drugs. Dr. Lohman had the kindness to prepare for me a drawing of them. They are of almost quadrangular shape, perforated near their bases either conically or perpendicularly; their edges run partly in a straight line and present sharp angles; where they are crescent-shaped the angles are rounded. There are specimens which exhibit different colors, as a clear whitish green at the bases and in the middle a dark, dirty or a black green, and others present a grayish cloudy basis and are of a coffee-brown color in the middle. In this connection a question arises, which has been often asked but has not yet received due consideration, viz.: Has China ever been explored sufficiently to know whether she had a stone epoch? and if she had not, did the people who are now her inhabitants pass through such an epoch elsewhere, from which we should be able to consider the specimens just described as possible relics brought by them as souvenirs from their ancient homes? We approach this question when we consider that Japan, China's nearest eastern neighbor, is uncommonly abundant in ancient stone implements.

## BABYLON.

In the British Museum, stone celts are exhibited, which were exhumed in the neighborhood of ancient Nineveh and Babylon (now Mugeyer, Kuyundschiek, Tel Gara). A district is thereby represented, which though it has furnished us a large amount of stone cylinders,<sup>1</sup> yet up to the present time has not yielded stone objects of the celt form. It appears, therefore, as though the break hitherto existing between the East Indian celt region and the one discovered by Schliemann at Troy-Hissarlik, Asia Minor, may now be considered as closed, thus furnishing a proof of a non-interrupted celt-line extending from distant Asia westward to the shores of the Mediterranean. Nothing has as yet been heard of stone finds in Persia. Upon an examination of copies of the Mesopotamian specimens made by Dr. Lohman, I met exactly the same shape of celts and chisels as those dug out from our lacustrine dwellings in Switzerland and other places. The Mesopotamian celts are either long or short and more or less curving. Some are dull at their bases and others pointed. Of sixteen specimens only one celt and two staffs (Stäbe) are perforated; a few of them show clearly that they were wrought from rollers. Only one specimen appeared to Dr. Lohman to be of jade or nephrite. Their specific weight and petrographic character has not been stated, but the hardness of most of them was 7 or 7-8. Their colors varied from leek green to blue green, dark leek green, green with variegated specks, gray black and black. One portion of them is of slate-like structure. All this is, therefore, evidence of the fact that on the borders of the Euphrates and Tigris, as everywhere else, care was taken by the workmen to select for their implements the toughest and hardest materials in existence. Sometimes particles of

<sup>1</sup> Fischer and Wiedemann, on Babylonian Talismans, with 3 photos. and 15 wood-cuts: Stuttgart, 1881, folio (Schweizebart, publishers).



quartz glimmer, and pyrites of iron are recognizable in these stone implements. One small celt showed an edge ground over again, as is oftentimes observed in European specimens, and which was described in one of the Chinese celts of the Evans collection. The length of these celts varies from 3–12.5<sup>cm</sup>. There are two stone specimens, thin and of a staff-like shape, which seem to be ornamental. They are of a grayish green color, 9–11<sup>cm</sup> in length, and are perforated perpendicularly, which runs out conically on both sides. Their material is softer than that of the celts, the hardness being 5–6 or 6.

Among other ornamental objects may be mentioned a tablet, from Warka, South Babylon, of dark green soapstone(?) engraved with a figure representing a deity. An ear-shaped and perforated peg projects from the middle of one of the sides of the tablet. There is another object, also of soapstone(?) and of rough workmanship, evidently representing a human body, of which, however, only the head and the eyes are clearly discernible. It reminds me strongly of certain Mexican and Costa Rican idols, upon which I treated in a pamphlet on Mineralogy, a science auxiliary to archaeology, in the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, 1877, vol. x., pages 177–214 and 345–357, with plates vi.–viii. and most of the cut on plate vi., fig. 20. Thus also a small serpent's head carved in quartzite, in the Babylonian collection mentioned, reminded me vividly of an animal's head from Costa Rica, which I represented in a cut, plate viii., fig. 250 in my *Bericht über eine Anzahl Stein Sculpturen aus Costa Rica*, in *Abhandlungen des Naturw. Vereins zu Bremen*, vol. viii., 8vo, 1881.

One of my correspondents in Mesopotamia, who is a physician in a Turkish regiment and who is enthusiastic in the collection of archæological objects there, informs me that collectors have a fair prospect for a rich harvest, since certain grounds are still entirely untrodden and untouched. I deem this communication worth bringing to the knowledge

of students, since as far as my information reaches, the pre-historic condition of Mesopotamia is still a great mystery to us. Of stone celts, I cannot sufficiently emphasize the fact, that they were found in a continuous succession from Eastern Asia westward into the very heart of Europe, and that they all agree in their material as well as their peculiar shape.

#### SIBERIA.

In the Proceedings of the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, vol. xiii., Nos. 1 and 2, 1882, East Siberian Section, Protocol of September 13, 1881, a report is given in the Russian language on Tumuli graves in Siberia. From this we learn that Mr. Witkowsky, a member of the society, was commissioned to perform in the interests of science, the task of opening a certain number of Tumuli said to exist in the government of Irkutsk. Mr. Witkowsky found them located in the angle of a plain formed by the confluence of the rivers Kitoy and Angara. The Tumuli were arranged in a row, and upon opening one of them about twenty human skeletons were dug out, in more or less good preservation, with the bodies lying in a north-easterly direction. In the same grave were found the bones of animals which still exist in those regions, as the stag, the deer, the boar, the hare, the fox, the bear, the wolf, and also in large quantities the bones of the beaver, which animal, however, has completely disappeared from the valleys of the Angara river. Bones of domestic animals were not met with, a circumstance which is suggestive. The skeletons were not without the usual accompaniment of bone and hunting implements, almost all of them being polished and of simple ornamentation.<sup>1</sup> This circumstance induces us to think that they may belong to the neolithic

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, this topic was not more closely discussed in the quoted report, nor accompanied with illustrations.

epoch,<sup>1</sup> when man had not only already learned to form his tools by chipping, but had also developed a taste for rendering them attractive to his eye by giving them a lustre. I was convinced by Mr. Witkowsky's notice that the majority of these implements, and more especially those of a celt-form, had been manufactured of nephrite. For hitherto Siberian nephrite has cropped out in its natural state, but in this Russian province of Irkutsk (Berlaja, mountains of Sajan), scrapers, arrow and lance-heads<sup>2</sup> made of nephrite have also been discovered.

Among the discoveries made on the Kitoy river were various implements and utensils manufactured from speck-stone and slate. The discoverer collected more than one hundred and fifty specimens of this special kind, which he designates as ornamental objects or symbolical tokens, in which opinion he corroborates a previous report made by Mr. Poljakoff. And finally, together with these implements were found others made of bone, as celts, awls, fish-forks and needles, each set in a bone handle, knives and other ornamental objects made from the teeth and bones of animals.

Here I may mention a number of interesting Siberian objects made of stone, which it was my good fortune to examine through the kindness of the engineer, Mr. Inocense Lopatin of Krasnojarsk (Siberia), the same gentleman who had the kindness to call my attention to Mr. Witkowsky's report (just published in abstract in a Siberian paper, No.

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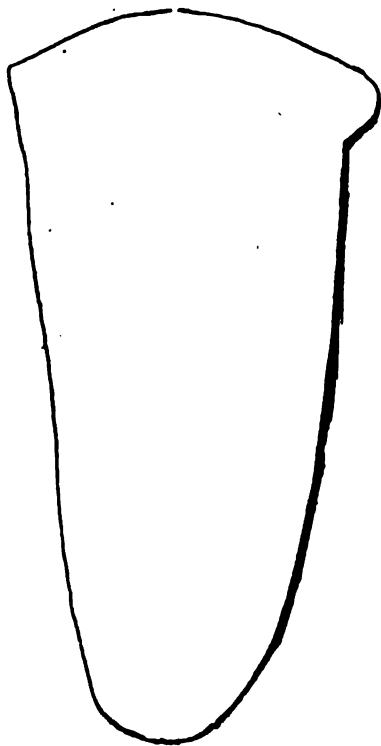
<sup>1</sup> Mr. Witkowsky is still under the impression existing among European archaeologists that every kind of mineral is capable of being worked by means of chipping or polishing. Prehistoric men were not in possession of steel hammers. Let some one try to chip a celt out of nephrite!

<sup>2</sup> It was very seldom that I met with arrow-heads made of other brittle mineral bodies than rock crystal, flint, jasper, obsidian or glass. I once had something similar from a Swiss-palustrine collection (Dr. V. Gross, Neuville), the material being nephrite, length 47mm. I am besides acquainted with two delicately cut objects, of American origin, that looked like arrow-heads, and which, as far as I am able to remember, appeared to be wrought of crysotil (serpentine-asbestos).

43, 1883), and who sent me a few years ago for examination and analysis seven nephrite celts, collected in his distant abode, one of which he presented to our Freiburg University Museum. On his own arrival here, later, he brought me a few specimens of quite a new shape and of different material, to obtain their mineralogical determination. To secure fac-similes of objects so rare, I had imitations made of them for our museum. Three of the seven stone objects mentioned are of unquestionable celt-form, and two others which are chipped approach it only. The

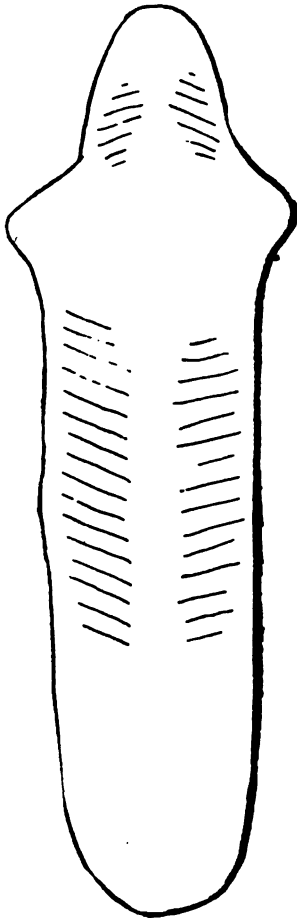
[CUT 2.]

first of the three (see cut No. 2) has a length of 195<sup>mm</sup> and its greatest width is 95<sup>mm</sup>. It is almost flat, with a moderate convex swelling towards the middle. Its edge is semi-lunar in form, with two protruding hooks or wings. The color is yellowish gray, and specific weight 2.69; to judge from a thin section of a small fragment, the stone may be of felsite-tuff. The specimen was found in an upper stratum of earth near the village of Kegma (pronounced Kedshma), at the margin of the river Angara, province of Jeniseisk. The second of



these celt-shaped stones was found when digging a ditch near the river Tchadobetz, three wersts distant from where it empties into the Angara, at the village Zaledewo,

[Cut 3.]



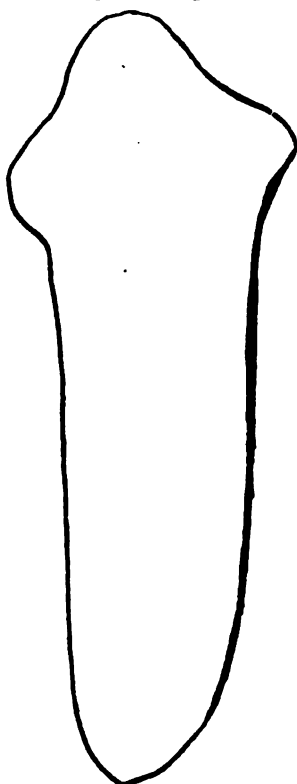
province of Jeniseisk (cut 3). It is of a reddish color; its specific weight is 2.46; the substance is probably also of felsite-tuff. Its length is 240<sup>mm</sup> and its largest width equals 70<sup>mm</sup>. Its shape is somewhat peculiar, for while the end of this implement is conspicuously flattened, the rest of it, along its entire axis presents a kind of swollen back, with steep slopings. The upper part has also two wing-formed projections and the edge has not the semi-lunar but rather the lingual form. Both specimens, one and two, are chipped and not ground or polished. It is the peculiarity of the felsite-tuff, just as it is of the genuine jasper, that when chipped, it shows a conchoidal fracture with sharp edges, and it is also interesting to learn that the Siberian prehistoric man was careful to select this species of stone and to shape it for his purposes by chipping.

The third stone (cut 4) is similar in form to the second, save that it is shorter and wider, 200<sup>mm</sup> by 80<sup>mm</sup>; specific weight 2.91; color green; fusible before the blow-pipe to a greenish glass. Judging from the thin section made of a diminutive fragment, it seems to be of the variolitic species. It is said to have been brought from Kamtschatka by the grandfather of a cossack.

The fourth stone (cut 5) is four-cornered and tapers gently towards both ends. Its length measures 335<sup>mm</sup>;

each of the four sides 40<sup>mm</sup>; of green color; specific weight unknown; not fusible; perhaps serpentine. It is found on the borders of the river Tchadobetz, at the village Saledejewo in the province of Jeniseisk.

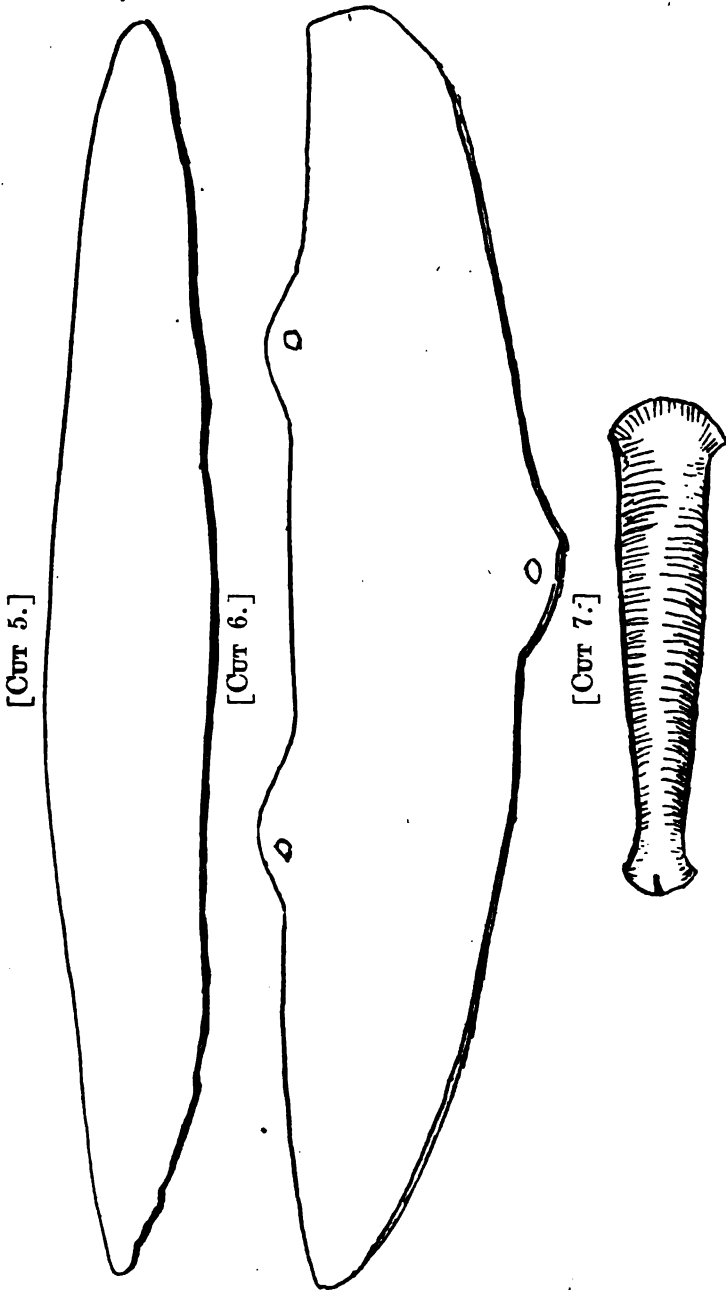
[Cut 4.]

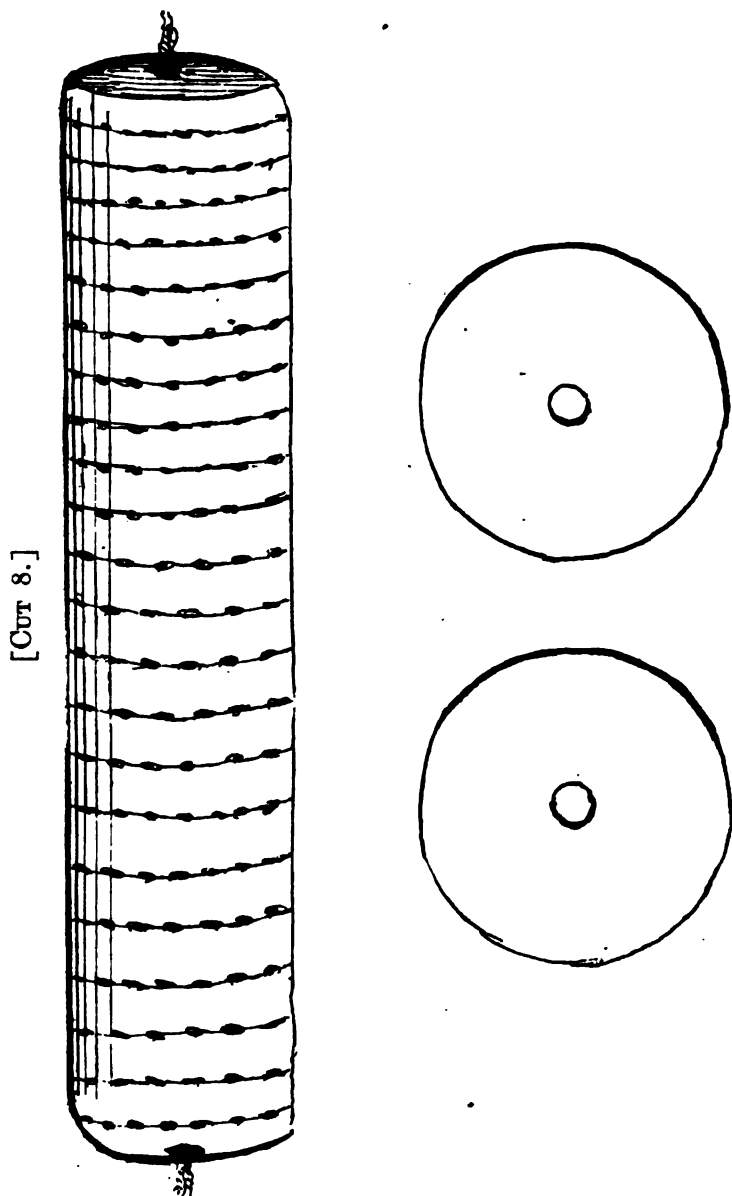


The fifth object (cut 6) is 368<sup>mm</sup> in length. It is almost flat, with a slight convex rising toward its edges. Its three projections are perforated. For what purpose it served we are unable to guess. It was found by peasants in an upper stratum of earth near the village of Irkineyewo, on the Angara river, in the province of Jeniseisk.

The sixth object (cut 7) is small, only 65<sup>mm</sup> long and has the shape of a spindle. It was probably an ornament. It was found on the surface of the soil near Krasnojarsk, in the province of the Jeniseisk. Its specific weight is 2.64; color violet gray; substance probably slate.

The seventh object (cut 8) is a longitudinally-perforated cylinder of 115<sup>mm</sup> in length and 33<sup>mm</sup> in diameter. Its color is cream yellowish (Radde's International Color Scale, 33.9). Its specific weight is 2.75. The surface is covered with punctured annulations. Its substance is agalmatolithe. It smelts before the blowpipe slowly to a white enamel. Close to it were found two perforated disks of the same substance; one 43<sup>mm</sup> in diameter, the other 41<sup>mm</sup> in diameter. These three pieces were discovered at







the depth of six metres, whilst building a road near the city of Krasnojarsk on the river Jenissei.

As Siberian prehistoric objects are of very rare occurrence, I thought it would be of interest to explain them, and the more so as they may possibly present analogies to similar objects belonging in the Arctic regions of North America.

#### JAPAN.

Dr. Emil Riebeck on his return from Japan had the kindness to present me with a pamphlet, of the existence of which I fear there is almost nothing known among the students in Europe. Its author is Henry von Siebold, and its title is "Notes on Japanese Archæology," with special reference to the stone age; twelve photographic plates; Yokohama, 1879; folio; Typography of C. Levy. The text covers only twenty-two pages, and after an introductory preface (pages i-iii), it treats of stone implements and stone weapons as found in Japanese graves and caverns; of ancient Japanese pottery, of stone and bronze objects, clay figures (Tsuchi Ningio), and closes with a description of the photographic plates, which are of extraordinary beauty. The author of this valuable treatise had a large number of stone implements, collected in different parts of Japan, at his disposal, which furnished him material for comparison. These specimens belonged to a later period, were well polished, nicely adorned and perforated, and came from the southern provinces of Japan, while those of less workmanship, according to the author's comparison, were products of northern Japan.<sup>1</sup> The far greater portion were discovered in the neighborhood of the sea, perhaps on account of the easier subsistence of life near the great waters. The author enumerates nine provinces particularly abundant in such finds, but as they

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<sup>1</sup> The question, objectively taken, would be whether northern Japan was not the home of such minerals as are most apt to be worked by chipping, and southern Japan the home of such silex-minerals as invite polishing.

were discovered by accident, and as scientific methods and plans of exploration are still lacking, no conclusion can be reached as to which portions of Japan were most populated in the stone age. A rich domain is here afforded for a mineralogical examination of the stones employed — of their respective homes, barter, traffic and international communication. We further learn that nephrite, of which there are mines in Japan—a fact lately discovered—is the material most frequently employed in manufacturing hammers,<sup>1</sup> celts and various ornaments. The author thinks that this mineral was imported in raw pieces from China and Corea, where it is common. He calls attention to the fact that the localities where prehistoric objects, made of indigenous Japanese stone, were found do not correspond with those places from which it was originally extracted.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he found that only the smaller implements, as arrow and lance-heads, were made of flintstone, an

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<sup>1</sup> Hammers, properly speaking, made of nephrite, I have never heard of as coming from any portion of our globe, nor does the work show any illustration which would suggest that form which we call a hammer. Moreover, we cannot but notice that in the description of the plates (pages 19-22) in which for every figure the English as well as the Japanese name is noted as well as the locality and the material, only nine pieces out of one hundred and thirty-seven are quoted as wrought of nephrite. Among these are the *Magatama* and other objects of diminutive form, but not one single celt and still less a hammer. The long experience I have had in the diagnosis of nephrite has made me somewhat sceptical, and I must here confess that without the given statement of hardness, specific weight and other chemical diagnosis, I would not be warranted in believing that any of the quoted specimens are real nephrite. I must say the same of the nephrite said to exist in Corea. The correspondence which I have with Eastern Asia and other oriental places has shown me the misuse made in giving the name of *jade* or *yü* to minerals, which on a later investigation must be classified quite differently. As valuable therefore as our author's work may be in all other points of view, I am unable to accept his statements regarding nephrite and the requisite of a warranted diagnosis of nephrite, since the quoted specimens are so much the more desirable as they afford the premises for a conclusion as to whether a prehistoric connection with China has really existed. If mineralogy aspires to share in the solution of archaeological questions, she must inexorably hold fast to the postulate of warranted diagnosis.

<sup>2</sup> The same happens with the Eclogie celts in Europe, as is shown by one of my pupils, Dr. Paul Lohman, in *Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie*, 1884, Band 1, Seite 83, s. 99.

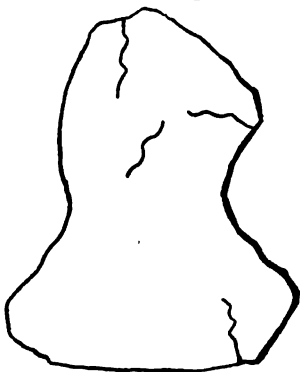
opinion contrary to that held in Europe. As for the rest, however, he observed a marvellous congruence between Japanese stone implements and all others found on the surface of the globe; and that which struck him most, was that Japanese celts were identical with all those with which we are acquainted. These celts are considered by the natives of Japan as implements belonging to a remote epoch and curiously enough they call them "raifu," which translated means thunderbolts. After giving a very plausible description as to how these instruments were "flaked off" from large blocks of stone, the author passes to what he calls "the period of polished stone." To this period belong such objects as small chisels, in the manufacture of which great care was bestowed upon the preparation of their edges, both sides of them appearing to have been polished. Opposed to this was the fact that an instrument, also of celt or wedge form which the Japanese call "*Kitsune no paña*" or "fox plane," was found, and also another—the *Kitsune no nomi* or fox chisel (cut 9). [Cut 9.]

Their edges were ground sharp and only on one side, similar to the Japanese knives of to-day and the planes and chisels of our carpenters. This kind of celt, however, is rare and was discovered exclusively in the province of Noto. The plates published by Mr. von Siebold show a considerable difference in the sizes of the celts. They vary from 15 inches down to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches. According to the author, the smaller celts were in all probability used for sculpturing pottery, opening shells and the like. He proves that these celts, when used, were stuck into handles of wood, horn and bone, for some were found still inserted in wood and horn fastened with bark and split bamboo cane. Sometimes the edge alone was polished, while the covered part was left rough, as was formerly observed in European and American celt chisels.



(Cut 10.) In this cut a curious specimen of stone implement is given, which the author found in great quantities imbedded in shell and stone-heaps, and which the natives of Japan also discovered in other of their provinces. Near the Tsukuba mountains, Province of Witachi, there are roughly hewn pieces of stone on an average 3-5<sup>cm</sup> in length, bound together, so to speak, in the middle and having the edges on two sides of irregular shape. The Japanese call them "*fundon ishi*," pound stones, on account of their similarity with Japanese weights. In all probability they were fastened between two pieces of wood and used as a double-bladed chisel or axe, as the sharpened edges seem to prove.

[Cut 10.]



In the description of the plates accompanying the pamphlet, much attention is paid to the substance of the stones themselves. The mineral and species of rock used as material for these objects are noted as being of various kinds. For the purpose of easy examination, I shall arrange the celt-like objects mentioned according to their mineralogical nature. Among them, the andesite, a volcanic product, plays a considerable part. Sixty-four per cent. of the 166 objects represented on the plates—and hence 107 celt-like objects—are made of andesite. Most of them are but rudely worked and only a few of them have partly sharpened edges. There are also fifteen arrow and lance-heads cut out of andesite, which, just as in Europe and America, are always chipped and never polished. Among these objects are a great number which are of delicate workmanship, which elsewhere, as in Finland, was bestowed exclusively on silex, obsidian and glass. If the diagnosis of our author is correct, we feel

safe in drawing the conclusion that andesite is worked in the same manner as flintstone, that is, that it does not leave sharp conchoidal fractures. There was, therefore, no occasion to grind and polish the surfaces of large celts or chisels and this operation was also unnecessary with smaller pieces, as lance and arrow-heads and the like. Andesite is found in Europe, mainly in Hungary, *Siebenbürgen* and in the *Siebengebirge*, yet so far as I have learned from specimens that have come to my hands, it has not the polish or even fracture of the cryptocrystalline flintstones and amorphous obsidian, but rather the rough fracture surface of the phanomere rock, i. e., a rock the elements of which are of easy recognition. Whether the *Japanese andesite* presents the same quality, I am unable to state for lack of autopsy.

A few words more must here be said on the Japanese arrow and lance-heads. The natives call them, without discrimination, *ya-no-ne-ishi*, which means lance points. Only when they are of considerable length do they employ the word *ishi-yari* or stone lance. The lance points may be divided into two categories. One portion of them were destined to be set directly into the hollowed shaft of the lance. The other, which is only found in *Yezo*, *Saghalien* and the *Aleutian* islands, appear to be first set into a short socket of bone and then introduced into the shaft of the lance. As to their shape, we may distinguish such heads or points as are of elongated, oval form (see [Cut 11.] cut 11). These are considered to be the most ancient. They are the most rudimentary, the easiest to be worked, and were either set into the hollow shaft or fastened to it by bark or string. There are others of more delicate workmanship whose half-moon shaped edges are swelled more in the middle. Up to the present day, the *Ainos* of *Yezo* shape them into the same form, employing for that purpose the hard material of the bamboo, and more rarely



iron. Specimens were noticed in the same locality which were chipped from flintstone. Another form, quite new to us, was observed in Kamtschatka, which is employed in hunting the sable, and presenting, so to speak, a stem with [Cut 12.] a knob at its head (see cut 12). [Cut 13.]



In cut 13 a very delicately worked lance-head, of the three-sided bayonet form, is represented. Of the material from which these lance and arrow-heads are made, the flintstone is predominant.<sup>1</sup> The rest are of obsidian, agate, crystalline-rock, opal, slate, etc. The Japanese connect these lance-heads with various and curious traditions. For example, they say that yearly a large host of spectres, wrapped in dark storm-clouds, rush over "the island of the lance-heads" in the province of Dewa. During their transit, these lance-heads, of various materials, are strewn in large quantities over all the country.<sup>2</sup> A book is referred to in this connection, written by a Chinese author, having the name of "Nihon go Ri," in which it is stated that in the years 839 and 885 B. C., a storm had raged over the district of *Akumi* in the province of Dewa, and after it the palace of Akita was found to be literally covered with these implements, and since that time the inhabitants of Dewa have taken the habit



<sup>1</sup> The illustrations given of these arrow and lance-heads show that none of the specimens are polished, but all are chipped just as in Europe and America. With this additional observation, in Japan, another and very valuable proof is given to an old assertion of mine that the finest specimens of stone implements were only obtained through skilful chipping, and that polishing does not represent in any particular a higher or later stage of civilization.

<sup>2</sup> This tale again reminds us of the myth of the Amazon stones in Brazil, as reported in my work on Nephrite, pages 125, 221, and in the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, vol. XII., 1880, pages 7-28, with plate, page 10. The mysterious amazons assemble around a lake to celebrate a festival of atonement. After a few days, when the waters of the lake are smooth like a mirror, they throw themselves into it to bring out of it the *muiriktaus* (stone idols), which figure in that country as talismans.

of rushing out of their houses after each storm to examine whether they can find any of these relics on the surface or by digging for them. They would then pulverize them to sell and use as a precious remedy (compare nephrite pulverized in various districts of Asia). Dangerous abscesses are not allowed to be opened except with this kind of lance-heads. A singular form of small stone implement, which I have never heard mentioned in any other country, is that which the Japanese call *tengu-nomeshigni* (rice spoon), and *Kitsune-no-gni* (fox rice spoon) (cuts 14 and 15). They are extremely small, some formed like a shell, others like a boat, and they seemed to have been inserted into a wooden handle. The material is of the hardest stone, and the edges are not sharpened by grinding, but by mere chipping. They predominate in the northern provinces of Japan.

[Cut 14.]



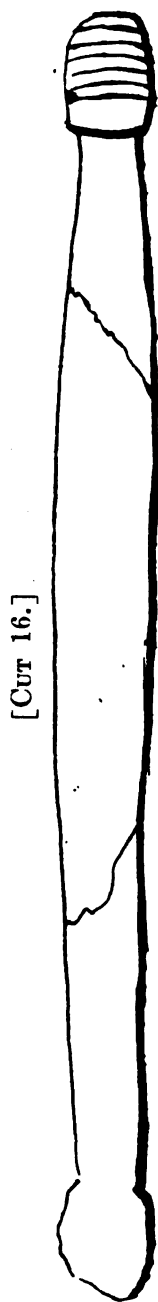
[Cut 15.]



To other rare stone objects, yet never found in a perfect state of preservation, belong the so-called *Rai-jo* or thunder-mallets. Their length is often three feet or more. Some say that they were used as weapons, others as tokens of dignity. Against the former opinion is advanced the fact that the material in which they are worked is soft, and they are also of thick substance, which seems to forbid their being handled with ease. Some of them show a knob at the one end, and others have a knob at both ends, with ornaments on their surfaces. Instruments of similar shape, however, of wood are observed among the *Ainos*. They often present a finely sculptured ornamentation and are used by the chiefs of the villages, who employ them when called upon to settle a quarrel. (Cut 16.) (In this cut they are represented in diminutive form.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the description of the plates are named as such, slate, tuft, basalt and gneiss.

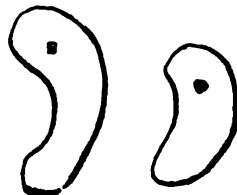
Another very rare stone implement may be mentioned, which the Japanese call *rai-tsu-chi* or thunder-hammer. It has the shape of a thick spindle, is well pointed at both ends and has two short swellings in the middle, which suggest that it was held fastened at its ends and employed like a double pickaxe as a formidable weapon of attack. Mr. Siebold is of the opinion that the knowledge of Japanese stone implements would increase in value if similar material could be gathered, pertaining to similar epochs, from the neighboring countries, as from China or Corea in which, undoubtedly, a similar progress from the stone to the metal age must have taken place; but with this difference, that in the latter countries we were not compelled to search beneath the layers of centuries as in Japan, but rather beneath those of thousands of years and more. There are tribes in China who, up to the present day, would not make use of metal implements but stick to their ancient stone material, and we are told by Chinese writers that people who employ metal to-day formerly used stone. In *Loochoo*, as well as on the Bonin islands (the latter strange enough to say do not reveal any traces of a former population save that which they received a few years ago), in Tsushima and on various of the smaller islands, which are links in the chain stretching from the Philippines northward to Kamtschatka, stone implements have been discovered which are different from those of Japan only in their material.





On pages 15 and 16 the Japanese stone ornaments are described, from which we will quote what seems to be of most interest. They appear to pertain to a more recent epoch, for they are found in graves together with metal or preserved in earthen vessels. The peculiar ornaments called *Magatama* and *Kudatama* may be mentioned. The *Magatama* (compare note on page 195) are beads of semi-lunar shape, perpendicularly perforated through the thickest part, the centre of the perforation being narrower than that of the ends, hence fully corresponding to the prehistoric borings of Asia, Europe and America. Their size varies from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 4 inches and the substance is usually of nephrite (see note on page 195), crystal, agate, serpentine, amethyst, jasper or sometimes soapstone and clay. Their shape is shown in cut 17. The author

[Cut 17.]



thinks that some object is hidden in the representation of the symbolical objects of which this amulet is composed, and suggests the symbol for the male and female organs, the Chinese yin and yang.

In the Chinese province of Kiansu, he met people who wore them as an ornament in their head-dresses. It is mentioned in the most ancient Japanese historical records and it is still seen in Loochoo, but it is met with only in those countries where Jimina Tenô and his descendants founded settlements,<sup>1</sup> yet never with objects which show their Aino origin. The author sets a great value on this ornament and is of the opinion that further research concerning it will disclose to us the real origin of the Japanese nation. He points to the fact that the *magatama* is one of the three insignia of the Japanese emperor, which insignia are the *sword*, the *mirror* and the *magatama*. The insignia are not of arbitrary introduction but of holy

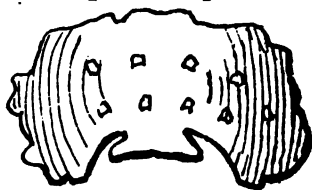
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<sup>1</sup> Without statement of which epoch it was.

inheritance. The magatama is interpreted to mean that the Emperor should rule with mildness, and with temper as pliant as its form but in substance as firm as the material of which the magatama is made. Ancient drawings represent the magatama as in alliance with the Kudatama, concerning which mention will be made later. The beads are strung on thread in greater or smaller quantity, and tied to the girdle of the warrior or around the neck but hanging down to the body. Only persons of rank seem to have used them. In the Japanese annals they are mentioned in various places. Recently they have been found preserved in the so-called Spinto shrines together with the precious *kudatama* which are jewels of a cylindrical form. Both are put into earthen vessels and placed in the grave of the dead. The Kudatama are always of cylindrical form and vary much in size. The largest specimen noticed by the author was four inches in length by one-half an inch in diameter, and their perforation shows the same method of boring as above described.<sup>1</sup> The material is mostly serpentine, but there are rare specimens of rock crystal.

Among Japanese antiquaries, the so-called *ski-kento* or sword-guards, of which cut 18 is an illustration, still are in high repute. Their form is that of a half globe, the surface being neatly polished and furnished with incrustations of small knobs or plates. Some savants insist that these half-globes were used as sword-guards; others, however, have their doubts as to their having been used for such a purpose, since they are only discovered beneath the ground upon which the shinto-altars were erected. Their material is usually not of the hardest, as there are found specimens of them of soapstone.

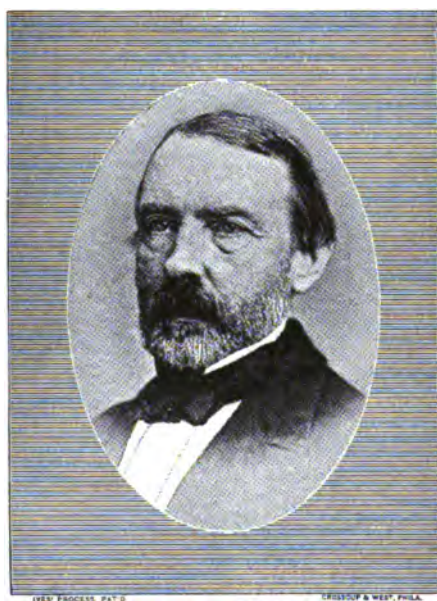
[Cut 18.]



<sup>1</sup> This was observed also on ornaments coming from Asia Minor.

Mr. Siebold's work must be received with pleasure and gratitude by all students of archæology. By it may be formed an approximate idea of the earlier and the later stone ages in Japan, based upon an original, circumspect and many-sided research, which is happily supported by a thorough knowledge of the Japanese language. The work also contains an interesting report on Japanese gold, silver, bronze and pottery ornamentations, the illustrations of which are given in the additional plates.





*Carl Hermann Berendt, M.D.*



## MEMOIR OF DR. C. H. BERENDT.

BY D. G. BRINTON.

A MAN who gives up a lucrative profession and even the pleasures of family life to devote himself to science, deserves more than a passing notice when death overtakes him. Such a man was Dr. Karl Hermann Berendt. To his enthusiasm he joined a most sound judgment, which kept him clear of those hobbies and fancies which have done so much to destroy the usefulness of many eminent workers in his special branches.

He came of a family of physicians and naturalists long resident in Danzig. Dr. Nathaniel Berendt, his grandfather, was also a collector and student, especially of organic remains in amber. This collection descended to his son, Dr. George Karl Berendt, for years president of the *Naturforschende Gesellschaft* of Danzig, who increased it so much that at his death (1850) it was the largest in the world. It is now in the Berlin Museum, where it is known as the "Berendt Collection."

Dr. Berendt's personal life was one of constant change. His birth took place at Danzig, November 12, 1817. His professional studies were made at the University of Königsberg, where he received his medical diploma in 1842. The year following he began practice in Breslau, where he was also *Privat-dozent* in the University in the branches of surgery and obstetrics.

When the political troubles of 1848-49 arose, Dr. Berendt took an active part on the constitutional side and

attended the parliament at Frankfort as a deputy. This led to a severance of his connection with the University of Breslau and to his removal to Graudentz, and later, in 1851, to America. Landing at New York, he proceeded to Nicaragua, where he remained for two years, becoming deeply interested in the ethnology, geography and natural history of that portion of the continent. Two years later he moved to Orizaba, Mexico, and again after two years to Vera Cruz, where he made his home from 1855 to 1862.

From the time of his departure from Orizaba he placed the practice of medicine subordinate to the study of his favorite science. Much of his time was passed in journeys to the southern provinces, Tabasco, Chiapas and Yucatan. These prolonged absences, together with the unhealthy character of the climate of Vera Cruz, led to the return of the remaining members of his family to Germany. Dr. Berendt himself suffered no less than four attacks of yellow fever, and they no doubt undermined his naturally vigorous constitution.

From Vera Cruz he went to Tabasco, whence in 1863 he departed for the United States, and passed most of 1864 in Providence, R. I., copying manuscripts in the John Carter Brown Library. In 1866, at the request of the Smithsonian Institution, he undertook a journey to Peten, Yucatan, returning the following year. Again in February and March, 1869, we find him exploring the vast ruins of the ancient city of Centla, in the fever-haunted plains of Tabasco, ruins which he was the first to discover and identify with the populous and civilized capital described by Juan de Grijalva in 1518.

The greater part of 1871 and 1872 he lived in New York, and it was during this period that my acquaintance with him began. His habits of work were peculiar. Once I made an appointment at three o'clock in the afternoon, which he punctually kept, but told me I must consider it a particular compliment, as it was too early an hour for

him to get up! It was quite a usual matter for him to go to bed at seven in the morning. At that time he had with him a young Maya Indian, José Sabino Uc, whom he had adopted, and hoped to inspire with a love of study; but I have heard that the experiment turned out a failure, as is usually the case. As he was a great smoker, and detested the cold so much that he never aired his room, it is not surprising that a northern winter tried his constitution severely.

His genial disposition, unaffected enthusiasm, and clear mind rendered his conversation peculiarly attractive. While severely critical in his estimates of literary productions, he was not so in the sense of fault-finding, and, moreover, submitted everything he himself did to the same unsparing tests. This, in fact, was his weak point as a scientific worker. He placed his ideal so high, demanded such absolute accuracy and entire completeness for everything which appeared in print, that he was never satisfied with what others had done, nor with what he himself could do. Hence of the considerable number of larger works he began, he never finished one.

In 1874 he settled in Coban, Vera Paz, partly to study the dialects of the Maya spoken in that district, and partly to improve his income by raising coffee. This was interrupted in the summer of 1876 by a visit to the United States, when I saw him for the last time, in Philadelphia. His principal purpose was to examine the manuscripts in Central American languages in the library of the American Philosophical Society, a description of which I had published some years before and given him.

On his return he was asked by the Berlin Museum to obtain and forward the celebrated series of sculptured slabs at Santa Lucia de Cozumaljalpa, Guatemala. To this commission he devoted much time in the winter of 1877-78, and in the spring of the latter year was seized with a severe attack of fever. He returned to Coban, but his illness reached a fatal termination on May 12, 1878.



Dr. Berendt married in 1848, Miss Anna Beck, daughter of the celebrated pathologist in Freiburg, Prof. Beck. He left two children, both educated with their mother in Germany. Of these but one survives, Mr. Max Berendt, now a consulting marine engineer in Hamburg.

As I have hinted, Dr. Berendt's published works are in no degree commensurate with his profound studies and intimate acquaintance with Central American subjects. Perhaps a certain restlessness, indicated by his unsettled life, interfered with the completion of any long work. He began many, but ended none. What he actually printed were only letters, short articles or addresses. They are in the German, Spanish or English languages, all of which he wrote and spoke with entire facility. The following is probably but a partial list<sup>1</sup>:

- 1862-63. Numerous Notes on Mexico in Petermann's *Geographische Mittheilungen*.
- 1869. An Analytical Alphabet for the Mexican and Central American Languages. Published by the American Ethnological Society.
- 1871. Los Trabajos Linguisticos de Don Pio Perez. pp. 6. Published in Mexico.
- 1871. Cartilla en Lengua Maya. Merida, pp. 14.
- 1873. On a Grammar and Dictionary of the Karif or Carib Language. pp. 2. Smithsonian Report.
- 1873. Die Indianer des Isthmus von Tehuantepec. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*.
- 1874. The Darien Language. *American Historical Record*.
- 1874.(?) El Ramlé. Tratado del Cultivo y noticiás de esta Planta.
- 1876. Remarks on the Centres of Ancient Civilization in Central America and their Geographical Distribution. *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*.

Besides what are mentioned in this list he contributed a number of articles to the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon*, to the *Correspondenzblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, the *Revista de Merida*, etc. He also edited the last part of Pio Perez's *Diccionario de la Lengua Maya*, and did much cartographical work on maps of Mexico, Yucatan and Central America. At the time of his death he was engaged upon

<sup>1</sup> See, also, Proceedings of this Society, New Series, vol. I., p. 113.—PUB. COM.

the following work, which appears to have been left incomplete :

*Los Indigenas de la America Central y sus Idiomas, Roseña Etnografica, compilado de los Escritos y Apuntes del Doctor C. Hermann Berendt, por Edwin Rockstroh. Edicion de la Sociedad Economica, Guatemala. Imprenta del Progreso, 1878.*

So far as I can learn, only the first form, 16 pp., of this work was completed.

The special field in which Dr. Berendt took most delight and to which he devoted his most willing labor, was "the ethnology and linguistics of the great Maya family." Many years of study and travel in Mexico and Central America, had led him toward the opinion that the problems of ancient American civilization would be most profitably approached by an exhaustive examination of everything accessible with regard to this numerous and prominent stock. With this in view he made four visits to Yucatan, visiting the ruins, copying manuscripts, collecting antiquities and books, and studying the Maya language as a living tongue. For the same purpose he spent nearly a year in Providence, R. I., copying and annotating the only known manuscript of an ancient Maya dictionary; visited Guatemala to search the libraries there for documents in the Kiche and Cakchiquel dialects; Coban, to obtain specimens of Pocomchi and Kekchi writings; and so on. By this means he had gathered together a mass of materials in these dialects far exceeding in number and value any previous collection, and such as it is not probable any single individual will again acquire. The whole number of works in his library in or upon this linguistic family exceeds one hundred, while the next largest—that which was gathered by the late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg—counted less than eighty.

Dr. Berendt's collection was, moreover, particularly designed for the scientific study of these tongues. It is especially rich in dictionaries and grammars, and in works written by natives. In this respect it is much superior

to that of the Abbé, most of whose rarities were theological tracts by Spanish priests. The three unpublished manuscript dictionaries of the Maya, the grammars of Buena-ventura and Beltran, and the curious "Books of Chilan Balam," form in themselves a body of material for the appreciation of this idiom in its original form scarcely surpassed by that in any American language. Besides these, there is a complete set of the works of Father Ruz, the only one I believe in existence, as not even in Yucatan is another to be found.

Outside of the Maya group, the languages of all the natives in and between the isthmuses of Tehuantepec and Panamá are excellently represented in the collection he formed, the number of titles of grammars, vocabularies, etc., reaching to 175. Some of these were original MSS., others copied with scrupulous fidelity and much beauty of penmanship from originals.

Ethnology and linguistics were, however, not the only subjects which occupied Dr. Berendt's attention. The geography, natural and civil history, and general literature of Central America, all came within the scope of his researches, and he left among his books and papers, much material bearing on these questions.





*Stephen Salisbury*

## ACTION OF THE COUNCIL.

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SPECIAL MEETING, AUG. 28, 1884.

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AT a special meeting of the Council, convened at the Society's hall, August 28, 1884, to consider the loss of their President, the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D.:

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., the First Vice-President, occupied the chair, and stated the object of the meeting.

In conformity to a custom inaugurated by Mr. SALISBURY, and followed by the Council for many years, he had prepared a series of resolutions, which he submitted, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Council, learning the death of the Honorable STEPHEN SALISBURY at the ripe age of eighty-six, desires to record its profound sense of gratitude to God for the great gift to this Society of its beloved benefactor, associate and President. For forty-four years he has been a member of this Society; for forty-one years he has been a member of the Council; for thirty years he has been President. Except the founder, he has been our principal benefactor. He was most valuable in the work to which this institution is dedicated, a laborious, careful and trustworthy historical investigator, and an admirable presiding officer. To his wise counsel and direction much of whatever success this Society has attained has been due. His presence and his generous hospitality have given to our

meetings, so long as the oldest of us can remember them, their principal attraction and charm.

*Resolved*, That our deceased President was a shining example of very great moral and intellectual qualities. The first citizen of the community where he dwelt, master of great wealth, object of universal respect and honor, he bore himself with such modesty and humility that it never occurred to the humblest man who knew him that they met otherwise than as equals. Exempt from the necessity of labor on his own account, he was as conspicuous for industry and frugality as for generosity. He was a man of stainless integrity and honor, and of rare courtesy. A most munificent benefactor of almost every enterprise of education or charity in this community, he so limited his gifts as to stimulate other men to do their share. He was satisfied with accomplishing good ends, and never seemed to desire credit or applause for what he had done for them. He never demanded for his opinion in the administration of enterprises whose success was due to his generosity even the weight which would be its due independently of his share in the endowment. He bore his full part of the personal labor of all public undertakings with as much fidelity and public spirit as if he had nothing but his labor to bestow. The oldest man who survives him can scarcely remember a time when he was not loved and honored by the whole community. His physical frame yielded to the weight of four-score and six years. But his mental powers never felt the effect of age. His intellect maintained to the last a growth like that of youth.

*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to provide for the delivery before the Society of an address commemorative of our deceased President.

*Resolved*, That these resolutions and the proceedings of this meeting be communicated to the Society and to the son of Mr. SALISBURY.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., said :

Familiar as those of us are, whose years are many, with the sentiment and language of commemorative tributes, paid to our vanishing associates, one by one, as they pass from these pleasant fields of study and discussion, we are made to feel on this occasion that the special qualities of our late highly honored President restrict us in our utterance. We do not find it difficult to define to ourselves the elements and proportions of his singularly attractive character, or its tone and mode of manifestation. But its very delicacy, simplicity and reserve would check us in any eulogistic phrase or over-strength of expression. His calm and gentle dignity, his equipoise of temperament, set forth his winning courtesy of manners. With varied and comprehensive attainments, acquired through his long years of faithful and enlarged culture, the result in him was solidity, rather than brilliancy as a scholar and a man of letters.

He was of the best stock and type of New England lineage and development, based on the rugged virtues of a rural ancestry, softened, refined and enriched by academic and professional training, by easy circumstances, by an in-born gentility, and by fine tastes indulged in some of the graver departments of historical, archæological and scientific studies. We, who were his privileged associates in the anniversaries of this Society, in the engaging discussions in this hall, the monument of his munificent generosity, and in the graceful hospitality of his home, deal with him now in the freshness of our bereavement, only as the head and crown of our fellowship. It will be for another occasion, many of them indeed, and for larger, more public, and far more comprehensive companies of his friends, his fellow-citizens, his beneficiaries, to open, but not exhaust, the rich and full career of this useful, blameless, and highly honored man.



**JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., said :**

I do not design here to eulogize the excellent and admirable friend we have just lost, after so many years of pleasant association. We all knew his kindliness, his uprightness, his broad culture, his sound judgment, his force of character and his good works.

But, having been Mr. SALISBURY's physician for more than forty years, my intimacy with him was special and peculiar. He was a man of great vigor of constitution, bodily and mentally. And it is remarkable that the mind continued even to grow after the body, very late, began to show symptoms of decay. He had but little sickness in his life and very little disease. And he had none of that superstition which is so common that it seems almost natural, that because one is sick he must necessarily take medicine. He was ready to take advice, and if assured that the processes of restoration, which nature always institutes, could be assisted, he accepted the means. But when the time of his departure came near he wished neither to endeavor to avert nor to postpone the necessary result. His work, he said, was done; and we all know that it was well done. There was not only a readiness to accept the inevitable, but an unwillingness to resist nature's work. He died with no malady, all his functions being usually well performed. There was no struggle, and therefore no victim, but only a cheerful surrender. There was no agony of death, but only the triumphant release of the spirit.

**Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN** seconded the resolutions, and spoke as follows :

It would be impossible, in the few words which the proprieties of this occasion permit, to add to what is so admirably said in the resolutions before us, to do justice to

the character of Mr. SALISBURY, or to set forth the qualities of his mind and heart with anything like completeness. And yet, Mr. President, in seconding the resolutions, I may be permitted to speak briefly of four great uses, which by his life and acts he was always illustrating; a bright example to all whose opportunities in any of them resemble or even distantly approach his own: the uses of wealth, of education, of high personal and social standing, and of time.

The great hereditary wealth of which in early life he became the possessor, with its additions inevitably great as the development of our city proceeded, was held by him as a sacred trust, to be administered in wisdom and with judicious and discriminating generosity, to be accounted for in severity to his own conscience, and in strictness to the great Judge of all. Not wasted in the light and gay frivolities of life, not trifled away in any even of the innocent ostentations of fashion, not devoted to the graceful elegancies of luxurious ease, nor yet on the other hand wrapped in the sordid and penurious napkin, it was administered by him in personal plainness and frugality, for the good of mankind. He gave upon the conscience and honor of a gentleman, after faithful inquiry into the merits of every cause. Great public institutions built their permanent structures on the foundations which his large beneficence had laid, and obscure and shrinking poverty blessed his name because his ear was never deaf to its appeal. And, modest as generous, presuming nothing over the many because in the gifts of fortune he was exceptional even among the few; he walked in the light of the precept of that ancient philosopher whom he venerated, "*non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecuniâ, non se prætulisse aliis propter abundantiam fortunæ.*"

He illustrated before us the true uses of education: that academic, university, professional training attains its highest ends in making men useful, and competent in a fuller

degree to the discharge of the great practical duties of life. The mere elegance of letters did not suffice for him. He had little patience with the spirit of dilettanteism. Familiar with the ancient classics and the best writers of our own language in earlier and later days, cherishing with peculiar regard the style and modes of expression of the Addisonian period of English literature, he used this familiarity, not as an amusement or a grace alone, but as the strengthener and sustainer of mental activity and force for actual duty. So that, because educated, and while enjoying in the fullest the society and intimacy of scholars, he might mingle more effectively with practical men, and bring to practical life and the discharge of all his large trusts, riper and steadier powers, a complete, well-ordered and self-poised mind.

He made the highest and most influential use of his recognized position as the head of the intellectual and refined society of our community, by showing in his daily walk and conversation that there is no such thing among us as class distinctions. He slighted no man because he was obscure or poor, asking only as the test and touchstone of his regard the clean hands and pure heart which mark the upright man. And, living "the truth which reconciled the strong man reason, faith the child," he gave to all men an illustration, the more effective because of his conspicuous position, of the beauty of modest sincerity and Christian purity of life.

To his latest day, and even as he came into the outer shadow of the portals of eternity, he made the most constant and diligent use of time. During the thirty years through which it has been my privilege to enjoy his uninterrupted friendship, I do not know that I have ever seen him idle for a moment. How bright and instructive the example to all who follow him! The one of all our citizens farthest removed from the necessity of application, rivalling, perhaps surpassing, all his acquaintances, in an industry as

varied as it was diligent and unremitting. And not in youth alone, nor in the riper years of manhood's strength and perfected powers. Advancing age did not repress him, nor did the lengthening shadows entice him to repose. Nay, he was, as many of us know, even when the sun of life had touched the western horizon, developing new channels of thought, and practising new intellectual industries, in perennial growth, and with a freshness and hopefulness which we never knew to fade or fail. In him, age asked no exemptions. For him no present attainment was sufficient while aught attainable lay beyond. The "good gray head which all men knew," was bowed in reverent submission to the Divine will, the resolute and steadfast frame gave way at last under the burden of more than four-score; but the intellectual power went sounding on, and the indomitable spirit ceased not from its quest of truth, of light, of knowledge. With Ulysses, we may almost hear him saying now, as how often in substance and in act has he said before us—

"How dull it is to pause, to make an end,  
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use!  
As though to breathe were life.

— and vile it were

For some three suns to store and hoard myself,  
And this gray spirit yearning in desire  
To follow knowledge, like a sinking star,  
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., said :

I cannot refrain at this time from expressing my high appreciation of the great loss we have sustained, and regret that I have not words at command to fully express my unbounded respect and esteem for one whom, from boyhood days, it has been a privilege to call a friend. We are all familiar with his long and active interest in this Society, and especially have we valued the personal friendship and consideration shown to those who have been associated with him in the administration of its affairs.

It was my good fortune to be associated with Mr. SALISBURY in various public and private positions, and I can testify to his most remarkable faithfulness to *all* the duties which such positions called for. No man that I have ever known was more conscientious in his attention to even the smallest details of any service laid upon him by his friends or fellow-citizens; and it seems to have been his rule to accept no official position if he did not see that he could give to it all the time and thought that the strictest line of duty could demand. He was especially sensitive to any remissness of others in this regard, and could not understand how so many men accepted offices of duty and trust and yet neglected to give to them the time and attention which in his good judgment they demanded.

Of his generous response to demands so often made upon him for assistance in charitable and educational objects, we are well aware; but how many times he has responded favorably to such calls, upon the express understanding that no public mention should be made of it, we shall never know.

As illustrating his modesty and his generous disposition towards all persons and associations working for the advancement and good of our city, an incident of several years ago comes to mind. When an association in which I was especially interested, became in urgent need of pecuniary aid, I received from Mr. SALISBURY a letter containing a check for an amount ample to meet its pressing wants, but with the express condition that no mention should be made of the name of the donor. I had made no request for assistance in behalf of the association, and although he was in a position to know something of its needs, I had no reason, before the receipt of his letter, to suppose he had given a thought to the matter.

His thoughtful and sympathetic interest in the personal welfare of friends and acquaintances is familiar to us all. The last conversation it was my pleasure to have with him, but a few days before his death, was mainly concerning an

old friend of his younger days, one who was being called upon to suffer pain and vexation of spirit, and for whom he expressed the most tender solicitude and regard. These traits have endeared him to his friends and the community who to-day so sincerely mourn his loss. I count it a high privilege to have found in him for so long a time, so warm a personal friend,—one ever ready with helpful suggestions—and who, when asked for advice, has given it in the most kindly manner. Realizing it all,—the sense of my own personal loss, and the deepest, most heartfelt sympathy for his son, whose loss is heaviest of us all,—my heart is too full to say more than that I join most heartily in the words of eulogy by other members of the Council, and in the resolutions offered.

**HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH** said :

This Society has lost, not only its venerated chief executive officer, but also one of its wisest councillors and largest benefactors. Association, such as we have for many years enjoyed with a person of his rare combination of virtues, makes a positive addition to the pleasures of existence; dignifies daily life; leads us to think better, though more humbly, of ourselves, and exalts our estimate of the worth of human life and character. **MR. SALISBURY** exhibited in his life and conduct the great qualities of integrity, sincerity, dignity, and courtesy. There was an entireness or completeness in his character, combining absolute probity of mind with rectitude of conduct; a transparent sincerity that had nothing to conceal which others had a right to know; a dignity in thought and bearing that commanded universal respect, and a courtesy of manner, in his intercourse with all classes of his fellow-men, resulting from a proper self-respect and a due regard to the rights and feelings of others. Combined with these elements of character, was the subjective quality of benevolence, constantly manifesting itself in deeds of active beneficence. And besides

and above all these, he possessed that which, a great observer of men has said, is a necessary and indispensable element of every great human character, *Religion*. In his conversations with friends he not infrequently dwelt upon the great themes of life, death and immortality, with a calmness and wisdom rivalling the best utterances of the wisest among the ancient philosophers, but without their perplexing doubts. He never spoke of death as an evil to be dreaded, but rather as a good to be desired; as a happy transition, especially for those who have reached the extreme limit of human life, from the infirmities and narrow limitations of this stage of existence to a larger and nobler sphere of being. Nor was he one of those who undervalue this life and speak of it as not worth living. Indeed, he might very properly have adopted, as expressive of his own sentiments on the subject of life and death, the language imputed to Cato by the author of *De Senectute*; and which has recently been rendered into the purest English by a scholar for whom Mr. SALISBURY entertained profound respect: "I am not," said Cato, "indeed inclined to speak ill of life, nor am I sorry to have lived; for I have so lived that I do not think that I was born to no purpose. Yet I depart from life as from an inn, not from a home; for nature has given us a lodging for a sojourn, not for a place of habitation. . . . Old age is the closing act of life, as of a drama, and we ought in this to avoid utter weariness, especially if the act has been prolonged beyond its due length." Mr. SALISBURY's conversations respecting men and books, public affairs, and scientific and historical questions, were always instructive and stimulating. He was an excellent judge of character, clearly discerning between the true and the false. And while far removed from all mere censoriousness in speech, he did not hesitate on all proper occasions, to condemn with just severity whatever was base in conduct or character. His great liberality to various educational institutions has been eloquently portrayed, in the generous tributes others of his late associates

have already paid to his memory. But was it not true of him, that he was the patron of learning, rather than of learned men or great and popular institutions? He always seemed, to me, disposed to devote his wealth and personal services to opening new avenues to knowledge and honorable usefulness for those who, without his aid, might never be able to attain them, rather than to connect his name as patron with some splendid achievement in science, or to found an institution that should bear his name down to future ages.

Those of us who have been associated with him as trustees of our Technical School, founded mainly for the benefit of young men who have their own fortunes to make, know how constant and efficient his labors have been in its behalf, and that without his munificent gifts, that institution could not possibly have gained the high standing it now holds among the best scientific schools of our country.

I am glad to be permitted to pay even this slight tribute to the memory of our late President, whose name and character will be long and gratefully cherished, not only by this Society, but by many others which have been enriched by his bounty and guided by his counsels.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., said that he was not prepared to say more than that he sympathized and agreed with all that had been said.

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

The chair appointed as the committee required: CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq. The Committee invited the Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., who was present, to prepare the commemorative address, and he accepted the duty.

The meeting was then dissolved.



## PROCEEDINGS.

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ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1884, AT THE HALL OF THE  
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

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THE Senior Vice-President, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D.,  
in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership): George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Charles Deane, George F. Hoar, J. Hammond Trumbull, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Peter C. Bacon, Nathaniel Paine, Joseph Sargent, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Rufus Woodward, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, Francis H. Dewey, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, John D. Washburn, Ben: Perley Poore, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Horatio Rogers, J. Evarts Greene, Charles M. Lamson, Henry S. Nourse, Daniel Merriman, William B. Weedon.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the last meeting, which were approved. The same officer communicated to the Society the proceedings of the Council upon the occasion of the death of the late President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, which were referred to the Committee of Publication.

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., then delivered the Memorial Address, which was, on motion of CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., referred to the Committee of Publication,

with the thanks of the Society. Mr. DEANE communicated the action of the Massachusetts Historical Society in relation to the death of the late Mr. SALISBURY, with some accompanying remarks of his own, and laid on the table those of the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D., all of which were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Recording Secretary then communicated to the Society the following nominations for membership. Each of the gentlemen nominated was elected by separate ballot :

Hon. ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, LL.D., of Ithaca, N. Y.

HENRY ADAMS, Esq., of Washington, D. C.

DANIEL COIT GILMAN, LL.D., of Baltimore, Md.

SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq., of Boston.

WILLIAM HARDEN, Esq., of Savannah, Ga.

HENRY WALBRIDGE TAFT, Esq., of Pittsfield, Mass.

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., read the report of the Council, stating that the notices of deceased members had been prepared by SAMUEL S. GREEN, Esq.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian, submitted their annual reports, which, with that of Mr. TRUMBULL, as together constituting the entire report of the Council, were adopted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., was then elected President, by ballot.

Mr. HOAR said :—One of our associates said, the other day, of our late President, that he never could excuse persons who accepted positions of honor for which they were unfit, or whose duties they had not time to discharge. I am afraid that in accepting this high honor, I am liable to the censure of my predecessor. I do not conceive myself to possess scholarship adequate for this duty ; and I cannot command leisure in any degree to supply, or to hide, the want of such scholarship. But I have been told by those who understand the interest and the opinion of the Society,

that it is not convenient to make, just now, the arrangement which seems to me the best. I will therefore undertake, for the time being, the duties of the office, and will perform them as well as I can, with the understanding that the arrangement must be considered as temporary only.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., SAMUEL S. GREEN, Esq., and JUSTIN WINSOR, Esq., were appointed a committee to nominate the other officers. They made the following report of nominations, which was accepted, and the gentlemen named were elected by ballot :

*Vice-Presidents :*

HON. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Washington, D. C.  
STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

*Councillors :*

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.  
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.  
HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.  
HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, of Worcester.  
REV. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.  
REV. EDWARD H. HALL, of Cambridge.  
SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.  
REV. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.  
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.  
HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.

*Secretary of Foreign Correspondence :*

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford.

*Secretary of Domestic Correspondence :*

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

*Recording Secretary :*

HON. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

*Treasurer:*

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

*Committee of Publication:*

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

*Auditors:*

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES read a brief paper on copper implements, illustrated with specimens, which was, with the thanks of the Society, referred to the Committee of Publication.

On motion of the Recording Secretary it was voted that that portion of the Treasurer's report relating to the Lincoln Legacy Fund, be referred to the Council, with full powers.

On motion of Dr. GREEN it was voted that the Committee of Publication procure a steel engraving of the late President, to accompany the proceedings.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., said:

I wish to express briefly my sense of the obligations of the Society to our associate, Mr. STEPHEN SALISBURY, for his generous service to us in preparing what he modestly calls "A Partial Index to our printed Proceedings, from 1812 to 1880." Probably only a few of the members of the Society have in their possession a complete set of the seventy-five pamphlets published by it up to the above date. But whether one may have few or many, all of us who may have wished to refer to a communication of any member, or upon some particular subject known to have a place somewhere in the series, have found such reference to require time and pains. Through the kind service of Mr. SALISBURY

we have now a perfect facility offered us for making such references. He gives a list in good strong type, alphabetically arranged, of subjects and of authors, with the number and pages in the published Proceedings under date of the meetings which furnished them. The preparation of the index required intelligent and appreciative labor. Incidentally it sets before us the variety and richness of the contributions made at those meetings. The "Council," of course, receives the largest credit for the materials which it has set before us. Our late ever-honored and beloved Librarian, Mr. HAVEN, stands first in the index in the fullness, wealth and variety of his individual contributions, and as we run our eye over the list our deep sense of obligation to him is revived.

I have felt that this sense of indebtedness to Mr. SALISBURY should find this, though it be an inadequate, expression.

A letter from the senior Vice-President was read, and several others were laid on the table, all relating to the life and character of the late President, and all were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,  
*Recording Secretary.*

## MEMORIAL.

BY REV. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D.

THE word *gentleman*, as you all know, means a man of family, and, like scores of words which we use without analyzing them, comprehends a profound truth. It designates a combination of traits and qualities that are transmitted cumulatively, and with an ever decreasing admixture of baser elements, through a series of generations, when there is no mis-alliance to impair the heritage.

The law of heredity was first promulgated by Divine inspiration, I believe (for I can account on no other hypothesis for such precocious wisdom in so rude an age), in the Decalogue, in which it is said that the sins of the fathers last on (as they always do, at least in proclivity and strong liability) to the third and fourth generation; while, in what is no hyperbole if the world shall endure so long, the inheritance of virtue and piety has the promise of transmission for thousands of generations, thus giving us hope of the ultimate survival of the fittest and of the saints' inheriting the earth.

Of the malign aspect of this law we have had conspicuous illustrations in lines of kings and princes, yet not gentlemen, as in the houses of Hanover and Bourbon, and in not a few instances within our more familiar cognizance, in which families claiming distinction because they were old have paraded before the nineteenth century infirmities, frailties, limitations of immemorial antiquity in their respective races.

Of the better side of this law New England is full of examples. Of the names most honored now, a considerable

proportion have been borne without stain or blemish for two centuries or more ; and there are few of the men who were pillars in church and state when our colonies were in their infancy, who, were they to return to this world, would not find among their posterity those whom they would gratefully recognize as their heirs. So far as we have materials for comparison, we may trace in successive generations a growth of character, the primitive outlines of substantial integrity and high principle filled out and rounded into an ever more graceful symmetry and beauty. The founders of these families, while in some instances men of special mark, in others have been plain farmers, mariners or mechanics, whose record is that of honest lives, loyal membership of the Christian Church, and civic service in those town governments which gave the type, tone and spirit to the government of colony, province and State, and framed the procreant cradle of our liberty. In families thus derived, each son has more than reproduced his father, if not in merit, in scope of influence and capacity of service.

In many of our New England families the one link that is wanting is that which connects them definitely with their English ancestry. With every token of having been well-born and well-bred, and with potential ancestors in whom this condition would have been fulfilled, they kept no records, or records that are irrecoverably lost, of the connection, which in some families is supplied by myth, in others is confessedly unknown.

The latter is the case with the Salisbury family. The name has been borne in England by men of high reputation in arms and in learning, and by families which have given it ample honor. Its origin has been by some antiquaries derived from the city of Salisbury ; but it does not appear that the family ever had any connection with that city, — having lived in North Wales for many generations, having had in Denbighshire large family estates, having intermarried with distinguished Welsh families, and having furnished, from

father to son, governors of Denbigh Castle, and sheriffs and members of Parliament for Denbighshire. The English members of the family trace their name and ancestry to Adam de (or von) Salzburg, a younger son of the Grand Duke of Bavaria, who came to England with William the Conqueror, and had lands assigned to him in Denbighshire, a portion of which has ever since been in the possession of his family.

In confirmation of this pedigree we have the testimony of an author not belonging to the family, that the Welsh Salusburys (they spell the name with a *u* instead of an *i*) have preserved in features and complexion an unmistakable German cast. How far this description is applicable to the Massachusetts family you are competent judges; but among the reasons for believing that they were descended from the Welsh family is the statement that the late Reverend Sir Charles J. Salusbury, who till a very recent time was the representative of the Welsh family and held the ancestral estate, resembled in person our late President. It is also said that a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds of Mrs. Thrale, Dr. Johnson's friend, who was a Salusbury, bears a marked resemblance to one of the ladies of the American family. I am inclined to think that family resemblances are at least as authentic records of kindred as the oral traditions which have been often taking shape many years before they are written. I was once addressed by my name by a gentleman in Scotland on the score of resemblance to a descendant of a different son from my own progenitor of a common ancestor, who had been dead for more than two centuries, and I once detected by a well known family trait a descendant of that common ancestor's cousin.

Another reason for believing that the New England family was derived from the Welsh stock, is that the armorial bearings of the latter are known to have been in the possession of the former for more than a century; while



it was, I think, only at a comparatively recent date that American families that had not brought coats-of-arms with them, began to apply for them at the herald's office.

It is known that various members of the Welsh family emigrated to America, and settled in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania. The earliest known ancestor of our late President is John Salisbury, of whom we first hear in Boston in 1685, and who died in 1702. As his oldest child was born as late as 1690, he can hardly be identical with either of the two John Salusburys, — if two there were, and not one, reported with variations, — one of whom is said to have come to this country between 1630 and 1640, the other between 1640 and 1645. There is record of the baptism of five children of John Salisbury in the Second Church in Boston. In the Probate records he is described as *mariner*, — a term which then included ships masters and all sea-going people. An extraordinarily large proportion of his not very large estate being in silver plate, a still larger proportion of it in ready money, and yet more in cash due on bonds, it seems probable that he had property in the mother country or elsewhere that was not included in the inventory, or, if not, that the plate consisted of family heirlooms that had come to him without purchase. In either case the inventory would point to some trans-Atlantic interest or connection, which has its obvious explanation by supposing him of English parentage, though he may possibly have been a son of the last of the Johns already named, who is said to have settled in Swansea, Massachusetts.

Nicholas Salisbury, the son of John, was a merchant in Boston, owned a house on Washington street that is still in the possession of one of his descendants, had a family tomb in King's Chapel Burying-ground, left memoranda of the baptism of three negro servants that were his own property, and appears to have borne all the tokens of prosperity, high standing and unblemished reputation. Through him

the American family has its definite position as to its past and its then future. His wife's ancestry can be distinctly traced without a break almost as far back as the discovery of America. His wife was Martha Saunders, whose mother was a granddaughter of Giles Elbridge, who married the niece and heiress of Robert Aldworth, and with him was co-patentee of the ancient Pemaquid grant. The Aldworth and Elbridge families have many names of men of distinguished merit, large fortune and munificent liberality. The children of Nicholas became connected by marriage with the Quincy, Sewall, Tuckerman, Waldo, and other well-known New England families, and their descendants in like manner were and are allied to the Chaunceys, Higginsons, Lincolns, Phillipses, Woolseys, and a long list of names held in honor among us,—a list, too, that has upon it none but honorable names.

Stephen Salisbury was the eleventh and youngest child of Nicholas. He early settled in Worcester, as a partner of the commercial house previously established in Boston by his brother Samuel, who was by seven years his senior. Worcester was then a small place; but it was the shire town of the county, and if not before, it was made by the enterprise of the Salisbury brothers, the business centre for a large rural district. Stephen Salisbury, the elder, was, first of all, a rigidly upright and just man, having and deserving the implicit confidence of all who were brought into relation with him. He was generous and hospitable, too, and his house was for many years made attractive to a large circle of kinsfolk and friends, equally by the loveliness of his venerable mother, who long shared his home, and by his own delicate courtesy and assiduous kindness, in which he was warmly seconded, and his home enriched and endeared, when, quite late in life, at the age of fifty-one, he married Elizabeth Tuckerman, daughter of Edward and Elizabeth Tuckerman of Boston, and sister of the Reverend Doctor Joseph Tuckerman, the eminent philanthropist.

The Tuckerman family is believed also to have been of a German stock. Its American record was no less stainless than that of the Salisburys, and Mrs. Salisbury's mother was distinguished for her superior intellect, for her domestic virtues, for her fervent piety, and for special care and fidelity in the religious training of her children,—qualities which her daughter inherited in full.

Our late President was the oldest child of this marriage, and the only one that survived infancy. He was born on the eighth of March, 1798. He was fitted for college, partly in Worcester, and in part at Leicester Academy. He belonged in Harvard College to the class of 1817,—a class containing an unusual number of men of marked ability and reputation, and several—as George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, George B. Emerson and Stephen Higginson Tyng—who held a foremost place in their respective departments. Mr. Salisbury maintained a good rank in his class, and graduated with honors. His commencement part, on the Influence of the Peace (after the war with England) on the Condition of the Professional Man, indicates the trend of thought at the time, especially the expectations based on the fresh flow of the long-refluent tide of general prosperity in New England.

His class was one the members of which must have done a great deal toward educating one another, and all the more for the rigidly enforced monastic *régime* of the college, under which the law-abiding student had absolutely no outside life. At that time the play was hard work. The literary societies—the sole pastime of the good scholars—had meetings only for mutual improvement, and the ambitious young writer had there a much more severely critical audience than when he stood on the stage at Commencement.

A large part of the college instruction was then given by lectures,—perhaps not the best way; but such a corps of lecturers as Harvard College then had the country cannot

have seen since. Besides two full courses from Professor Farrar, whom those who heard him pronounced the most eloquent of men, there were courses delivered to the undergraduates by Chief Justice Parker, Doctors Bigelow, Jackson and Warren, Edward Everett, Levi Frisbie, George Ticknor, to cite only names that have not passed into oblivion.

The instruction in the classics was thorough of its kind, and I feel by no means sure that it was not the best kind. The niceties of grammatical construction were not studied technically. I doubt whether the professors themselves could have passed an examination like that through which alone a freshman can now enter college. The sole aim was to enable the student to understand and enjoy the classical writers, and to render them into the best possible English. Grammar was in this process unconsciously imbibed, and virtually understood, though its mysteries could not have been voiced. This method trained a much larger proportion of lifelong lovers and readers of the classics than is produced by the system which gives the first place to the study of the language, the second to its contents. It was in this way that Mr. Salisbury acquired his taste for the classics, and his capacity and habit of reading them with an enjoyment that only grew with his years.

On leaving college Mr. Salisbury returned to Worcester, which was thenceforward his home. He studied law with the Honorable Mr. Burnside, and became and continued a member of the bar, but without entering into general practice, finding his fully sufficient business in the care of his father's increasing property, which in 1829 became by inheritance his own.

But his life has been as far as possible from a self-seeking or self-centred life. With no ambition other than that of the full discharge of the duties devolving upon him, this noblest of ambitions has been the inspiration of his whole career from early manhood till the death-shadow gathered

over him. The growth and prosperity of his native town he has kept constantly in view. He has contributed largely to the development of its resources, has made the improvement of his own property subsidiary to the public welfare, and has given his liberal aid, and his often more valuable personal service, to every institution and enterprise promotive of the general good. With his habit of incessant industry and the most careful economy of time, were we to subtract from his lifework the portion of it that had not either a direct, or a designed, though indirect reference to the well-being of others or of the community at large, you would find a remainder surprisingly small; while, had he chosen simply safe and lucrative investments for his property, and led the life of elegant and literary leisure which would not have been uncongenial to his tastes, it is hard to say in how many ways and forms the lack of his counsel, coöperation and munificence would have straitened and enfeebled the interests which he constantly cherished and advanced.

It scarce needs to be said that when public office came to him, it came from the choice of others, not his own. He belonged to a class of men of whom I fear that he was almost the last, who would not have lifted a finger to obtain the highest or to evade the humblest public charge, but in either, as a matter of conscience and of sacred honor, would have rendered the very best service within their power. Such men used to have office forced upon them; they never sought it. Mr. Salisbury served both in the town and the city government of Worcester, was for two years in the House of Representatives and for two in the Senate of Massachusetts, and was for two successive terms one of the Presidential Electors.

In various local institutions he has been a frequent office-bearer, and most assiduous in whatever charge he was willing to assume. As a Director of the Worcester Bank for more than fifty years, and its President for nearly forty,

and as President for quarter of a century of the Worcester County Savings Institution, he must, by his inflexible integrity, his financial skill and prudence, and his habit of close personal attention to everything within the range of his responsibility, have done no little toward giving tone and character in Worcester to this department of business, in which we have seen elsewhere with sad frequency not only atrocious breaches of trust, but cases of negligence only and hardly less criminal, on the part of men who seemed to merit confidence till they had shamefully betrayed it.

Of the Worcester Free Public Library he was for many years a Director, for eight years President of the Board, to a large extent a liberal benefactor, and always in full sympathy with the method of administration, by which more has been done for the diffusion of knowledge and the creation of a taste for pure and good literature than by any other similar institution in the world.

The Worcester County Horticultural Society owes, if not its continued existence, its relief from disabling embarrassments, to his generous and munificent interposition at times of special need, while it enjoyed for a long series of years his valuable services as an officer.

Most of all, the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science has been indebted to him, not indeed for its establishment, but for its high scientific and literary reputation, for the breadth and thoroughness of the education which it affords, for its elevated tone of manners and morals, for the conspicuous and honored place which it holds among our institutions of learning, and for its eminent usefulness in the shaping of character for successive classes of young men, who, as employers and directors of labor, become propagandists of whatever salutary influences they carry with them into the outside world. His relation to this institution is characteristic. With the funds that he bestowed upon it, very largely exceeding the aggregate of all other gifts, he might have established a seminary that

should transmit his own name to posterity, and should far transcend the best that could be done by the generous donation of the actual founder. On the other hand, he adopted the founder's plan, and rendered its realization possible, notwithstanding a great depreciation of money after the endowment had been made,—careful always to place in the foreground the honored memory of Boynton and Washburn, and claiming for himself only the privilege of serving in the way indicated by their deeds of gift. And what a noble and efficient service has it been! As President, he has filled in all matters of importance the place which belongs to the president of a college, with that of the steward in addition, anticipating all the financial needs of the Institute, applying his consummate practical wisdom to its economical interests, holding, without assuming, because he could not but hold, its intellectual headship, exercising the utmost wariness and discretion in the choice of teachers, sustaining their authority and influence, rendering himself a beneficent power among the pupils, stimulating them to diligence, mental enterprise and high moral aims and purposes, and making them feel, each and all, that they had in him a friend and a cordial well-wisher, who appreciated all merit at its full value, and who would never fail in their need to bestow upon them his countenance and aid. The annual commencement of this institution has always been graced by his presence, and enriched by his addresses, often elaborate, always wise, pertinent and timely. Few series of College Baccalaureates would bear comparison with these addresses, in their range of thought, in their abundance of seedling thoughts dropped where they could not but fructify, in affluence of literary and classical illustration, in fine, in materials carefully selected from the hoarded wealth of a life equally active and studious, and specially adapted to the counsel, admonition and instruction of young men just entering on their several careers of lifework. The beauty of his addresses consists in the self-

revelation unconsciously made in them, in their singleness and directness of purpose, and in the ease and naturalness with which a vast diversity of topics is made contributory to the demands and to the unflagging interest of these occasions. Many of us, too, can recall with pleasure those commencement evening receptions, with his warm and hearty welcome to students past and present, and to the constantly increasing circle of those who either felt special interest in the anniversary, or craved the privilege of being the guests of a host so loved and honored. It will be remembered that it was at the last commencement of this institution that he made his last public appearance, and uttered what it seemed only too probable would be his parting words of counsel and congratulation, and that he could not be persuaded to omit the usual gathering at his house on the ensuing evening, or to delegate to younger hands the welcoming of the crowd of visitors.

While thus devoted to the institution of which he has been more than the founder, he retained through life his loyalty to Harvard College, which in 1875 honored itself and him equally by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Beside occasional contributions for current uses, he endowed its library with a permanent fund for the purchase of classical books. A year ago he closed his twelve years, or two terms, on its Board of Overseers, members being by law ineligible for three consecutive terms. He was for eighteen years a Trustee, and for fifteen years Treasurer of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology at Cambridge, in which he took a very great interest, and with his wonted punctuality, though evidently too feeble for the journey, he attended the last meeting of the Board, during the week preceding the Cambridge Commencement. He was one of the oldest members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was a not infrequent attendant at its meetings, and was zealous in the promotion of its objects, though through a different medium.



He was interested in various associations for religious and charitable purposes, and at a stated meeting of one of these held in Boston at ten o'clock of a morning in the late autumn, he has almost always made his appearance on the stroke of the clock, while those who live hard by find the hour too early. Long the Treasurer of the Worcester County Bible Society, he has for nearly a quarter of a century been one of the Vice-Presidents of the Massachusetts Bible Society, and by far the largest annual donor to its funds.

In this Society of ours we have preëminent reason for enduring gratitude to him whose departure is our unspeakable loss. Hardly any of us can remember the time when he has not sat as chief among us. For forty-four of the seventy-two years of the existence of our Society he was a member; for forty-one years, of its council; for thirty years, its president. We express but a small part of our indebtedness to him, when we say that his munificence has been, not contributory, but essential to our fair show and exterior prosperity. Money, and brick and mortar are needed, but utterly inadequate for a work like ours, which, more than any other department of intellectual labor, demands such knowledge as comes not by intuition or reflection, but only by painstaking research, together with antecedent conversance with the field of investigation, and with ability to discriminate between that which age makes venerable and precious and that to which even pre-mundane antiquity could impart neither interest nor value. Our late President possessed these qualities in the fullest measure, and to him do we owe it, in great part, that the labor performed under the auspices of our Society has always yielded a harvest of sheaves worth binding and keeping. His own contributions to our Proceedings commence with his presidency, and outnumber its years. Several of them are elaborate papers, and among these I might name the Memorial of Governor John Endecott, which is second to

no monograph of its kind in the judicial weighing of evidence, in fair appreciation of character, and in comprehension of the state of society at a time so remote from ours.

I find, also, that these papers embrace a very large proportion of our necrology, and of the obituaries of such public men as claimed our special notice. As the case seemed to demand, these notices have sometimes been condensed biographies; sometimes, brief sketches; sometimes, resolutions of commemoration, respect and sympathy. Those who have attempted this task know how difficult it is, and how delicately it needs to be performed, so as at once to shun unmeaning or inappropriate panegyric, and to single out the salient points of merit and the actual reasons for loving or reverent regard. Here our President was peculiarly happy, equally just and kind in his estimate of character, giving no false praise, but never omitting or attenuating any trait of genius or of moral worth, and making encomium all the more emphatic and expressive by a grace of diction that betrayed by its perfectness the careful literary labor which its simplicity and naturalness might else have concealed.

I forget not the faithful work that has been wrought for our Society by those whom I know only by tradition from earlier members, by those who have already shown us where we must look for our future prosperity, and, especially, by my very dear friend and classmate, the late librarian. Yet we shall come together, certainly so long as the elder among us live, with a sense of vacancy and void, as we miss that benign presence, that meek and modest dignity, that unstudied courtesy, that ripened wisdom, which have given the tone and spirit to our meetings, and have borne so large a part in shaping the character of the Society.

In enumerating the posts of public service which Mr. Salisbury has held we give but a very imperfect account of his life-work. He kept his time so full that it was elastic,

and would always stretch to new demands upon it; for it is they who do the most that the most readily find room for more. Whatever was worthy of his coöperation never failed of his help in counsel and in action; and I cannot learn, that when his gait grew feeble and every effort must have been a burden and a weariness, there was any slackening of his industry.

But a life-work consists not in the things that a man does, but even more in the selfhood that he puts into them. Acts are small multiplicands; the actor's self, the much greater multiplier, and thus the chief factor in the product. It is, therefore, hard to estimate, impossible to overestimate, the efficient force, always in behalf of the true, the right, the generous, the noble, that has been withdrawn from this community, and from all our venerable friend's various circles of influence and spheres of duty by his departure,—a force, too, which had been constantly growing, and never was more vigorous than when through the brief death-shadow it emerged into immortality. Even in doing the same things his was no routine life, no self-returning round, but an enlarging and ascending spiral. We all saw that his decline of life could be so termed only as to bodily capacity. In all else it was culmination; and we never so felt how severe a loss we should sustain in his going from us as when we began to doubt in parting from him whether we should ever see him again.

Yet, while no man ever made more than he did of the closing years of a lengthened life, he looked upon death as in God's good time to be welcomed and rejoiced in. I had last year a letter from him, which I reperuse with the more tender and grateful interest now that the hand that wrote it is forever still, and from which I cannot forbear copying a few sentences as illustrating the way in which he would have had us regard his removal from us:

“The text, ‘Who hath abolished death,’ and other similar language in the Bible, and in ordinary Christian utter-

ances contemplate death associated with human weakness and wickedness as that which the teachings and hopes of Christianity will conquer and abolish. But it is beyond question that death is currently represented as an interruption, and a painful, frightful calamity, in itself, without regard to that which may follow, and this opinion occurs in the abundant literature of our day, when so much attention is given to the facts of physics and the experience of life that are inconsistent with it. Death is an incident in striking analogy with the dissolutions of inanimate matter, whose improved reproductions show the probability of the resurrection of man. The human body in its best preservation is subject to be worn out, and disabled for its purpose; and physicians tell us that the end of its course, when free from complications, is attended with evidence, commonly of relief, often of pleasure. A few days ago, in talking with a friend, an earnest clergyman and a scholar, I alluded to the blessing of death, and he was shocked and started in his chair as if I had spoken that which was false and repulsive. But without this ministry the human race could not rise in knowledge and happiness above the shepherd tribes on the plains of Mamre, restrained by the authority of the patriarchs. And death is undeniably a blessing in individual experience. If the generations did not pass, the development of the young would be impeded, if not prevented, and social order could not exist. Then the moral influence for which decay and death give occasion cannot be overlooked. The false estimate of death supports, if it does not originate, another error, the desirableness of a long life. This opinion is so nearly universal in literature and among living men, that it may be referred to the suggestion of a wholesome instinct. Yet in the few instances in which four score years are exempt from the ordinary burden of labor and sorrow, old age is not an improved condition of life. I will not enlarge on the unhappiness of the consciousness of insufficient and decaying powers, and of the pain of standing in the way of the young, who, inreverent and loving service, forbear to unfold their faculties and take their place in society until death gives the opportunity. I have said enough to prove that death is not only the

‘Friend to the wretch whom every friend forsakes,’

but a friend to every human being.”

That our friend could write thus shows that there was no need for him so to write. No mind impaired by age ever passed such calm and cheerful judgment on itself; and next to the assurance that death has been to him but the gate to heaven, our chief consolation in his going from us when and as he went, is that he was spared the disabling infirmity and the enfeebled brain-power which could hardly have failed to overtake him with added years. Far rather would we miss him while he filled his place than that he should have survived the capacity of filling it.

In the estimate of Mr. Salisbury's character I am disposed to place first what is commonly put last, as if it were accessory, and not fundamental. He was a profoundly religious man, a diligent and earnest reader of Holy Scripture, firm in his Christian faith, constant in the support and reverent observance of Christian institutions and ordinances, walking humbly with his God, and making the Word of God, written and incarnate, the rule and the inspiration of his life. Hence its blended strength and beauty.

His habits and conduct were based on fixed principles. Integrity was his robe and his diadem. Not only in the transaction of business, but in his judgment and his treatment of others and of all men, truth and uprightness were his law, and we cannot conceive of any deflection on his part from justice, nay, not even in that broad sense in which justice is but wise, impartial, comprehensive charity.

He obeyed the apostolic precept, Honor all men. Fine, gentle, considerate courtesy was as natural and spontaneous to him as breathing. He assumed nothing on the score of position, nor yet in these latter years, on that of age. Humanity meant more to him than its differences, and was always a sufficient claim on his respect. He was not condescending; for he did not consider himself as stooping in order to hold friendly intercourse with any human being. His bearing was always dignified, for it could not be otherwise; but his was the dignity of blended self-respect which

he never laid aside, and kindly regard which ignored the artificial distinctions of society. Thus while there was no need of his looking up to, it was impossible for him to look down upon, any one. His whole social influence, I do not mean in what would be called his own circle, but in his conversance with all sorts and conditions of men, tended toward the levelling upward, the raising of the grade of those who stood toward him in any relation however humble, he thus doing his part of the work which properly belongs to the institutions and citizens of a republic, where there should be room neither for aristocrats nor for pariahs.

His generosity was large and broad, and at the same time careful and discriminating. His wealth he regarded as a sacred trust, and he was solicitous equally to avoid doing harm and to effect real and substantial good by its use. As a giver, he was averse from ostentation, and when the magnitude of his gifts made publicity inevitable, it was never of his own choice. His bounty flowed in more numerous and more diverse channels than it would be easy to trace. Several instances have come to my knowledge, in which need and worth — remote and entirely unrelated to him — were promptly relieved. I have also known instances in which applications which he might have strong self-ward motives to regard favorably, have been dismissed, because he considered the ends sought either as unattainable, or as of doubtful value. I learn that he has not only been always ready to meet the demands of actual want and suffering, which for one in his position was hardly less a necessity than a duty, but that he has been assiduous in helping those who have done their utmost to help themselves, in aiding modest and obscure enterprise, in encouraging industry and thrift, in giving the needed assistance to young men of promise, whether in the pursuit of education or in active callings,—charities which, unlike those that perish with the using, yield a permanent and growing revenue. He was evidently solicitous, also, so to bestow

his benefactions as not to supersede the liberality of others. He put a just value on the independence of the institutions which he most befriended, which over-endowment by a single hand would both enslave and cripple, while their fresh and vigorous life is sustained and fed by a more extended clientelage in the present and the hope of it in the future. In fine, he greatly enhanced the value of his large, varied and incessant benefactions by applying to them the wise and fruitful economy which characterized his management of his private affairs.

A life so true, so generous, so useful, and so full of work could not have been maintained without the practice of punctuality and its kindred tribe of subsidiary virtues, — not by any means minor virtues, as they are sometimes called, but essential to perfect truth, honesty and kindness, and while seemingly devoid of sentiment, possessing a winning grace and beauty when made the frame of a faithful and noble life.

Mr. Salisbury's mind, like his moral nature, was developed symmetrically, with ability rather than with genius, but with ability which was wisdom and strength in whatever he did, which grew by constant exercise, and was never more conspicuous and efficient than when close under the shadow of death. As a man of letters he was a peer of the foremost, if we except those who, as teachers or writers, make letters their profession. He was familiar with the best English literature, and with not a few choice authors whom most of us know only by name. He was a lifelong reader and admirer of the Latin classics; and after he had become an old man he revived his knowledge of the Greek, and found great delight in its wealth of epic, lyric and dramatic poetry. He had no little conversance with the various departments of physical science, and was thus kept in intimate relation with the instructors and classes in his favorite educational institution. His knowledge of American history, archæology and bibliography was exten-

sive, and, so far as it extended, accurate and thorough. Of the literature in and of the Bible he was not merely a devout reader, but to no small degree a critical student.

He wrote with care, less for rhetorical effect than for clearness and definiteness of statement. His style had the simple dignity and grace that belonged to his entire character, and was therefore the natural outcome of his thought and feeling. I can see no reason why, if he had chosen, he might not have been successful and even eminent as an author; for in whatever he wrote he showed himself master of his subject and equal to the occasion.

In some respects Mr. Salisbury's life-record is almost unique. I wish it were not so. Here is a young man of excellent ability, highly educated, with ample resources, who, instead of seeking or making for himself a place in the world, quietly seats himself in the place already made for him, indeed, to which he might seem to have been born. It is not a large place, or one of exacting demands. But he grows, and his place grows with him. He has more and more lofty views and aims, and his place develops ever higher capacities, on which those views rest, in which those aims find scope. He becomes gradually, but by unintermitted progress, the centre of a broad and still broadening circumference of institutions and interests, trusts and charities, the cynosure, within an extended and constantly enlarging circle, of all in need of counsel, encouragement or aid, doing good in more forms and ways than one could imagine till the void made by his departure, beneficent, serviceable and useful in a degree and measure certainly unsurpassed, and probably within the knowledge of most or all of us unequalled, realizing in the eyes and in the remembrance of all who knew him the ideal of that noblest style of man, the Christian scholar and gentleman.

I have thus given you a sketch of our late President, not in the glowing colors in which my loving thought might



clothe his form after many years of pleasant intercourse and the frequent enjoyment of his cordial hospitality, but as he must have appeared to the outside world, in his daily walk of faithful duty, of kindly converse and of beneficent service. His fails of being a striking character because of its fully rounded perfectness. Mountains look low from table-land mountain-high; they need a plane on the sea-level to appear all that they are. The best characters lack prominent traits, because there are no defects, infirmities and weaknesses to give prominence to the features of their excelling goodness. *Chiar' oscuro* is as essential to attractive character-painting as it is to a picturesque landscape; and where there are no deep shadows, we are hardly aware of the intenseness and brilliancy of the light. But in this picture of one so profoundly revered, so tenderly loved, there lives not the man who knows where or how to paint in the shadows. Let it then have place in our record in the pure, white light in which our friend will live, with every one of us, in enduring and grateful memory.

LETTER FROM HON. GEORGE BANCROFT TO  
REV. DR. PEABODY.

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NEWPORT, R. I., 19 October, 1884.

REV. DR. A. P. PEABODY,

*My Dear Sir:*

My acquaintance with Stephen Salisbury, the late President of the American Antiquarian Society, began in very early life. As boys, I might almost say as children, more than seventy-five years ago we were constant playmates, being very near neighbors. Our friend was born of parents who had already passed the earliest years of mature life. He was their only surviving child, and was therefore very carefully and delicately bred. He had the great advantage of home life under its purest forms, and this reflected itself upon his character from childhood to the last.

I went to Exeter, which divided us for two years. We met again in college, where our intimacy ripened, for in our first year we were chums. This close relation certainly makes me the best witness of his uniform, never-failing evenness of temper and fidelity to the duties of college life. In the whole year that we were together in the same room I never heard him utter an uncivil or rough or fretful or in the least degree angry word to any one, or knew him for a moment to lose his self-possession. He preferred after the freshman year still to live in an apartment outside of the college; I ventured as a sophomore into Massachusetts Hall; but we remained as closely united as before; and I remember once when he had a slight touch of typhoid

fever, I for a few days played the part of his nurse and companion. During all the four years of his college life he remained the same, leading a most regular, studious and exemplary life, and I cannot recall that he ever did anything that was wrong.

After we left college many years passed away during which we rarely or never saw each other. In later years we met repeatedly, and he confided his inmost thoughts to me. He had become more conscious of his powers and had the clear resolute purpose of employing them. He not only acted from a strict sense of duty, but he had consciously formed a system of life and plan of efficient action. The longer he lived, the more he developed his faculties and increased their power.

The older he grew the freer was his mind; his understanding more vigorous; his aims larger and higher; his view of the world and his relations to it broader; his will more resolute. He is one of the few men whom I have known who in their progress to old age always grew more liberal and more and more wakeful to the duties of life. He is gone, and one more tie which bound me to this world is broken. He was the last survivor of the friends whom I have known from childhood.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

## ACTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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At the conclusion of the Rev. Dr. PEABODY'S Address, CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge said: —

MR. PRESIDENT:

At the last meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held on the 9th instant, the President, the Hon. Mr. WINTHROP, who as Mr. LOWELL once said of him, is a master in the perilous oratory of commemoration, paid an appreciative tribute to your late President, Mr. SALISBURY. At the conclusion of his remarks the Historical Society passed this resolution: —

*“Resolved, That our Vice-President, Dr. DEANE, be charged with communicating to the American Antiquarian Society, at their approaching Annual Meeting, an assurance of our sincere sympathy in their loss of a President who had served them so acceptably and efficiently for more than a third of a century, and whose devotion and munificence have so prominently identified him with their prosperity and welfare.”*

In laying this expressive resolution before your Society, Mr. President, I feel that I am substantially performing the obligation which it imposes. But if anything further were required to communicate to you the Society's sense of the great loss which our whole community has sustained in the death of Mr. SALISBURY, I could not do better than by laying before you a copy of the remarks of Mr. WINTHROP himself to which I have alluded. I will at least deposit a transcript of them in your archives, for the use of the Pub-

lishing Committee should they wish to include them in the proceedings of this meeting.

The Historical Society and the Antiquarian Society contain so many members in common; there is such a community of feeling and interest between them, that hardly a prominent member could be taken from the one without the loss being shared by the other.

As an expression of this common sentiment I might refer here to commemorative remarks at the recent meeting of the Council of this Society in which members of both Societies joined in paying warm tributes to our venerated friend. And now we have just listened to a commemorative address appointed for this meeting, and delivered by a distinguished member of both these kindred societies.

May I conclude with a single word for myself. To many of us, Sir, the death of Mr. SALISBURY is a personal loss. He was a man to be loved, and I had for him a warm personal attachment. I have been connected with the Antiquarian Society, as a member, for over thirty years, and it has been one of the pleasantest associations of my life. I have rarely failed to attend its meetings, and the annual autumnal gatherings at Worcester, in this delightful season of the year, were occasions to look forward to with special interest. One of the greatest attractions here was Mr. SALISBURY himself. I first met him in this hall. His warm and kindly greetings as we came up here from year to year to this Mecca of our affections, made us all feel welcome. His manners, like his character, were simplicity itself. His erect form, as he sat in the President's chair and so admirably conducted the deliberations of the meetings, will never fade from my memory. He was an excellent presiding officer. Others may have more eloquent speech, or more graceful action, but no one could perform the duties of the office more thoroughly and conscientiously than he. He aimed to do justice to all. The modest and diffident he encouraged to offer their communications, and to those who could claim

neither brilliancy nor brevity he listened with commendable patience and with unfailing courtesy.

In some commemorative remarks which I had the honor to make here soon after the death of our revered Librarian, Mr. HAVEN, I referred to the disappearance from time to time of the familiar forms and faces which we had been accustomed to meet as we came up to these annual gatherings. One by one they disappear and their places are filled by others, the young and the hopeful, some of whom are looking forward to careers of usefulness and distinction in the pursuit of those studies which this Society encourages. May success attend them. To the Society's roll of departed members the name of our venerable and beloved President must now be added.

#### REMARKS OF THE HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D.

The remarks of the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP before the Massachusetts Historical Society, referred to by Dr. DEANE, are as follows : —

The Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY died at his home in Worcester on the 24th of August last, at the advanced age of 86 years. He was elected a resident member of this Society in March, 1858, and had thus been one of our little number for more than a quarter of a century. He was a frequent attendant at our Monthly Meetings, in years past, notwithstanding the forty miles of travel — I should rather say the eighty miles of travel, coming and going — which such an attendance involved, and he was always ready to coöperate with us in whatever might promote our welfare.

But I need not say that he will be longest remembered in connection with Associations and Institutions in his native place. Born in Worcester, he never yielded to the attractions or distractions of larger places of residence. Throughout his protracted life he remained faithful to Worcester —

doing all in his power, by the ample wealth which he had inherited, and by his personal influence and enterprise, to build up that which was a little town of 2400 inhabitants at his birth in 1798, to the importance which it now enjoys as a city of 60,000 people, taking rank as the second city of Massachusetts in population, business and wealth. As President of the old Worcester Bank for nearly forty years, as President of the Worcester County Institution for Savings for more than five and twenty years, and still more as one of the largest benefactors and most active friends of the admirable Free Institute of Industrial Science, his name will long be gratefully remembered in the heart of the Commonwealth.

But it was as President of the American Antiquarian Society, founded by ISAIAH THOMAS in 1812, that he became known and respected far beyond any mere local range. He had held the chair of that distinguished institution for thirty-four years, and had spared nothing in the way of personal effort or pecuniary gift to promote its prosperity and honor. The annual meetings of the Society at Worcester were occasions not easily to be forgotten by those who were privileged to partake of his generous hospitality and friendly entertainment. It is among my personal regrets, now that he is gone—as I annually wrote to him while he lived—that I was so rarely able to enjoy those attractive gatherings. Another such meeting is just at hand, when he will be sorely missed, and which will doubtless furnish the occasion for tributes to his memory, additional to those so justly paid at his funeral.

Mr. SALISBURY was a man of liberal education and varied acquirements, and his contributions to the Transactions of the Society over which he presided were numerous and interesting. Prepared for college at the old Leicester Academy he was graduated at Harvard University in the notable class of 1817, which included among its members George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, George B. Emerson,

Samuel A. Eliot, Judge Charles H. Warren, President Alva Woods and Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, and of which I may be pardoned for remembering that Francis William Winthrop took the very first honors, only to die two years afterwards of consumption, at 19 years of age.

Mr. SALISBURY was a warm and liberal friend of his Alma Mater, which conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1875, and of which he was an overseer for twelve years. He was also, for several years, a representative for the town, and a senator for the county, of Worcester successively in our State Legislature.

I must not omit to mention that Mr. SALISBURY was long associated with me as one of the few original Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, and rendered faithful and valuable service as its treasurer for fourteen or fifteen years. As lately as the 20th of June last—only two months before his death—he came over from Worcester, on a hot day, in his 86th year, to attend a visitation of that museum. The physical weakness which he exhibited on that occasion fully prepared me for the fatal result which followed so soon afterwards. But he was unwilling to deny himself that last view of an institution in which he had been so deeply interested from its first organization, and which he once told me was, in his judgment, the most satisfactorily and successfully administered institution with which he had ever been associated.

I am authorized by the Council to submit the following resolutions :

*Resolved*, That in the death of the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., our Society has lost one of its most respected and venerable members, and that a memoir of his long life and exemplary character be prepared for our Proceedings by the Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN.

*Resolved*, That our Vice-President, Dr. DEANE, be charged with communicating to the American Antiquarian



Society, at their approaching annual meeting, an assurance of our sincere sympathy in their loss of a President who had served them so acceptably and efficiently for more than a third of a century, and whose devotion and munificence have so prominently identified him with their prosperity and welfare.

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ACTION OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC,  
GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

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SOCIETY'S HOUSE,  
18 Somerset Street, Boston, Mass.  
*November, 19, 1884.*

*To the President of the  
American Antiquarian Society:*

DEAR SIR:—

In accordance with a vote passed by the Directors of this Society, I have the honor of sending you herewith a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Society on the death of the late Hon. Stephen Salisbury.

I remain, dear sir,

Very respectfully yours,

D. G. HASKINS, JR.,

*Recording Secretary.*

At a meeting of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, held at their House in Boston, on the first Wednesday of September, 1884, the President, the Honorable Marshall P. Wilder, Ph.D., announced that since the last meeting he had received intelligence of the decease of the Honorable Stephen Salisbury, LL.D., of Worcester, a distinguished Life-member of this Society. He referred to

the cordial relations of personal friendship and attachment which, for a long period and to the last, had subsisted between them; and gave tender expression to the emotions which the sad event had excited. He spoke of the lasting debt of gratitude which the community at large, the State, his native city, the institutions of learning, science and industrial art, the educational, religious and charitable institutions, owe to the munificent endowments, eminent and arduous services, and noble example of their constant friend and unceasing benefactor.

Subsequently, and after the reading of the memorial minutes, the following resolutions were reported by the Honorable Nathaniel F. Safford, for the committee appointed for that purpose, and the same were unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the members of this Society deplore the loss we have sustained by the decease of the Honorable Stephen Salisbury, an eminent member of our Association, who, during a long life, was conspicuous in the promotion of those historical, antiquarian and educational interests, which are conducive to the objects of this institution; and we unite with other fraternities and kindred associations in transmitting, of record, a tribute of veneration, honor, and affectionate regard to his memory.

We are impressed with a deep sense of obligation for his benign influence and abiding example, contributed to the advancement of the manifold and enlarged public interests which successively opened upon his path, and engaged his sympathy and practical aid. Laden with weighty responsibilities in important spheres of public and private trust, he was ever ready to serve in whatever rank he could be most truly useful. Political affiliations had no charm for him, unless they were conducive to a conservative love of social order and elevation; and he frowned upon every measure or policy which seemed to him to lower the standard of public or private virtue. The confidence reposed in his administration of great financial trusts, his efforts for the development of industrial science, for the prosecution of

historical studies and antiquarian research, his liberal endowments of the institutions of his native city, his aid and encouragement to kindred literary, charitable, and educational institutions, and his fidelity in every relation in the labors of an energetic, practical life, have deservedly commanded the gratitude and respect of the community as a trusted and honored citizen wherever known.

*Resolved*, That we tender our expressions of sympathy to the family of the deceased.

*Ordered*, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the family, and to the American Antiquarian Society, to which, for many years, he rendered valuable service as its President and one of its most distinguished benefactors.

Attest :

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR.,

*Recording Secretary.*

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

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THE members of the Antiquarian Society are thinking to-day about their late revered President, Stephen Salisbury. The first thought is that we have lost a friend and valued counsellor; the second, that a beautiful memory is left to us.

The Council has given expression to its sense of the loss which this Society and the community have met with in the death of Mr. Salisbury in resolutions passed at a meeting held in the forenoon of the day of his funeral.

It would gladly pay another tribute to his memory to-day, but has thought it best to intrust this duty to his old friend, our esteemed associate, Dr. Peabody.

The reports of the Treasurer and Librarian are herewith submitted as a portion of the report of the Council. They call for no comment. The Council, however, is unwilling to pass over the statement of the Treasurer that Mr. Salisbury left to the society bequests of the amount of twenty thousand dollars, without recording the fact that it is profoundly sensible of the kindness and generosity which prompted this and the many other gifts of our deceased President.

The Council has recently made new arrangements for heating this building. Instead of buying steam from the County of Worcester, the Society will hereafter make its own steam.

Five members of the Antiquarian Society have died since the last meeting, six months ago, and the death of a sixth associate, who died several years since, has just come to our notice.

William Adeo Whitehead, A.M., was born February 19, 1810, in Newark, New Jersey. His father, William Whitehead, was the first cashier of the Newark Banking and Insurance Company, the first bank chartered in New Jersey. His mother was Abby Coe, a member of a family identified with the history of Newark. As a boy he attended several schools, among them the Newark Academy. In his fourteenth year he removed with his father to Perth Amboy. In 1828 he went to Key West, Florida, to become an assistant to his brother, John Whitehead, one of the four original proprietors of the island on which that town is situated. He surveyed the island and laid out the town. Returning to Perth Amboy for a few months in 1829, he went back to Key West in the autumn of the same year. In 1830 he was appointed collector of the port of Key West, entering upon the duties of this office before he was twenty-one years of age. In August, 1834, he married, at Perth Amboy, Margaret Elizabeth Parker, daughter of James Parker of that place, and soon returned to Key West. There he was a member of the town council and afterwards mayor. He assisted in the organization of the first church in the place and interested himself greatly in educational matters, in gathering statistics relating to health and mortality, and in the establishment of a newspaper. There, too, he began to make meteorological observations, continuing them throughout his life. A point of the island and one of the streets of the town perpetuate his name. Mr. Whitehead resigned the office of collector July 1, 1838, to engage in business in New York. For several years we find him in Wall street, then with the Astor Insurance Company, afterwards Treasurer of the New York and Harlem railroad, then, for many years, an officer of the New Jersey railroad and, finally, Secretary of the American Trust Company. After 1843 his residence was at Newark, where he was closely identified with all the best interests of the city. He filled several important trusts in connection

with educational institutions, and the establishment of the Newark Library Association is largely due to his efforts. He was President of this organization for thirty-three years. His leisure hours were spent in studying and illustrating the history of his native State. He was an authority in regard to the colonial and revolutionary history of New Jersey, and was associated with the Historical Society of that State from its beginning. It would be impossible to overstate the value of his services to that society. He edited the volumes of its Proceedings from the commencement, and published in them several valuable works on the history of New Jersey. For a list of his contributions to this subject reference is made to Allibone's Dictionary of Authors. It was through the efforts and under the direction of Mr. Whitehead that the State of New Jersey undertook the publication of its Colonial Documents.

Mr. Whitehead made systematic observations and records of meteorological phenomena, and published monthly accounts of these for forty years in the Newark Daily Advertiser, also furnishing the results of his observations to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Mr. Whitehead was much interested in geology. He wrote, too, not unfrequently on theological subjects and about ritual matters, and contributed multitudinous articles to newspapers.

His correspondence with men of learning and students of history was very large. It is needless to add that Mr. Whitehead was, emphatically, a busy man. He died at his summer residence at Perth Amboy, August 8, 1884, leaving a wife, daughter and son. The last named is Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead of the diocese of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Mr. Whitehead was himself a leading member of Trinity Church, Newark. He was a public spirited, Christian gentleman, and was respected and beloved by all. A man of commanding figure and dignified bearing, he was uniformly courteous and of a high toned sense of honor. In a notice in the North American Review (written, it is

stated, by our associate, Rev. Dr. Peabody), of his "Contributions to the early history of Perth Amboy and adjoining country," are the following words regarding him: "He is a zealous antiquary, an indefatigable seeker in his department of inquiry and an accomplished writer; and it matters little what spot of earth such a man chooses to write about, — if it is not interesting, he will make it so."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Whitehead was elected a member of this Society at the meeting in October, 1855.

Robert J. Farquharson, M.D., was the son of a Scotch Highland gentleman who took part in the rising in favor of Prince Charles, and after the defeat of that unfortunate aspirant for regal position emigrated to this country. Dr. Farquharson was born in Nashville, Tennessee, where his father had settled, and was a successful merchant for fifty years. He received a preliminary education in that city and then went to Philadelphia to study medicine. He served as surgeon in the United States navy for ten years. On the breaking out of the civil war he adhered to the Union, and in consequence lost a large portion of his property, recovering something, however, after peace was declared. "He owned," says the Davenport Daily Gazette of September 7, 1884, "a large home in the suburbs of Nashville, and at the time of Morgan's raid the Doctor had to leave his house, and with his faithful black servant had to hide in the woods, and for a week lay hidden in a corn-field while Morgan's men were hunting high and low for the outspoken Union army doctor. But he had successfully escaped to Cincinnati where he was safe. He then went as house surgeon in several of the Union hospitals." Dr. Farquharson moved to Davenport, Iowa, in 1868, and there entered on the practice of medicine, devoting much of his time to scientific pursuits also, and in particular, to the study of archæology, in which department of knowledge,

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<sup>1</sup> N. A. Review, vol. 84, pp. 278-279.

says the Gazette, he was considered an authority. He contributed several papers on local archæological and on other subjects to the proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Science. It is stated that much of this society's reputation is due to his labors. He was its president in 1878, and later on President of the Scott County Medical Association. Three years ago, having accepted the position of Secretary of the Board of Health of the State of Iowa, he removed to the capital of the State, Des Moines, where he resided until his death, performing the duties of his office in such a manner as to receive marked commendation, and to be appealed to from all sections of the country to give opinions upon hygienic subjects.

Dr. Farquharson had a great amount of knowledge, and in imparting information expressed himself clearly and with scientific accuracy. He was thorough and patient in making investigations. Extremely modest and unassuming he yet had the courage to stand firmly by his convictions. He had a sincere love for his home, friends and country. The loss of this venerable man is felt by his associates in the medical profession, by men of science and by the State. William Stevens Perry, Bishop of Iowa, writes of Dr. Farquharson that he was "as devout as he was learned; as gentle as he was brave and manly. The whole community is bereaved in his death, and, quiet and reserved as he was, few men are more widely mourned." He died at Des Moines, September 6, 1884. Dr. Farquharson was chosen a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1876.

Samuel Stockwell Early, was elected a member of this Society at the meeting held at Boston in April of the present year. He did not accept the position until September 8th, writing under that date that he had delayed replying to the invitation to become a member of the Society in the hope that he might be able to accompany his acceptance of the honor conferred upon him with something in the way of



a contribution to the work of the Society: "a sort of thesis, so to speak." He did not find leisure, however, to complete the paper, and wrote that he must defer transmitting it to some later date. Ten days after, September 18, he died. Attacked with the disease of paralysis of the heart while sitting in a barber's chair, he passed away instantly.

Mr. Early was born at Flemingsburg, Kentucky, in July, 1827, and was fifty-seven years old when he died. Losing his mother while very young, he was placed under the charge of his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Stockwell. In 1838 or 1839 he was brought to Terre Haute, Indiana, whither his father had moved in 1835. He graduated at Asbury College, an institution which now bears the name of De Pauw University, in 1844, and soon went to Europe for a visit. Returning, he engaged in business with his father and continued in it after his father's death, January 6, 1869, until 1872. In this year he removed to Baltimore and began the publication of the *Baltimore Bulletin*, but after remaining there for several years returned to Terre Haute, having disposed of his newspaper property. He was successful in Baltimore, but was not contented away from Terre Haute. He again went into business, remaining in it until four or five years ago.

In 1856 he married a daughter of Colonel Timothy Andrews, Assistant Paymaster in the United States army, and soon after his marriage accompanied by his family made a second trip abroad.

During the last few years he led a quiet and studious life. Terre Haute lost in Mr. Early, it has been stated, one of its most intellectual and refined residents as well as a thorough man of business; and the State of Indiana one of its most highly cultivated citizens.

A writer in the *Terre Haute Express* of September 19, 1884, under the signature R. W. T., presumably the initials of Hon. R. W. Thompson, a distinguished citizen of Terre

Haute, and a late Secretary of the Navy, states that while Mr. Early "took deep interest in the extensive business operations of his father and became a most thorough and competent business man, he acquired very early in life a thirst for literary and scientific pursuits, which he always sedulously cultivated." Mr. Early was also, writes Mr. Thompson, "a careful student of history and made himself a thorough master not only of its most instructive and interesting facts but of its philosophy also." He was an enthusiast on the subject of education. As secretary of the board of trustees of the Rose Polytechnic School, now presided over by our associate, Dr. Charles O. Thompson, he worked earnestly and thoroughly, and made a minute, and it may be added, exhaustive examination into the details of industrial education.

Mr. Early was an interested student of the fine arts, sketched himself, and became a good art critic. He was emphatically industrious and thorough, and his tastes led him to accumulate a library and many works of art. November 16, 1857, Mr. Early became president of the Prairie City Bank.

Alexander S. Taylor was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1817. Under date of July 22, 1866, he wrote to our late Librarian, Dr. Haven, from Santa Barbara, California, "I left my native city of Charleston, So. Carolina, in 1837 (only returning for a few days in 1839), when in my 21st year, and since that time have wandered over the West Indies, England, India, the Red Sea, China, Singapore and Ceylon." He adds that since 1848 he had been an inhabitant of California, and at last had "come to an anchor" by marrying in the part of the State in which Santa Barbara is situated. From 1848-60 Mr. Taylor resided at Monterey, going subsequently to Santa Barbara. When the civil war broke out his relatives wished him to take part with the South. He refused to do

so, however, and characterized the attempt to secede as an "outrageous piece of crazy folly." Mr. Taylor was elected a member of this Society in April, 1864. He died in July, 1876, as appears from a letter bearing date of May 2, 1884, written to us by his widow, from Goleta, a post hamlet in Santa Barbara county, situated a few miles distant from the town of Santa Barbara. According to Allibone he was the author of the following articles: "The Indianology of California in four series of 150 numbers, in the *California Farmer*, 1860-64; *The Bibliografa Californica*, in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 25, 1863, and March, 1866; a history of Grasshoppers and Locusts of America, in the *Smithsonian Report* of 1858; and of many articles on California history, Indian ethnology, natural history, &c., in the *Herald and Bulletin* of San Francisco, *Sacramento Union*, *Monterey Sentinel*, *Hutchings's California Magazine*, *Bancroft's Hand Book*, &c." In his *History of the Pacific States of North America*, Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft states in a volume recently published, namely, the first of the California division of his extensive work, that the list of authorities he has himself cited regarding California is more complete than any other within his knowledge "relating to any State or Territory of our Union or indeed to any other country in the world." He describes Mr. Taylor's *Bibliografa Californica* in the following words: "So far as works on California are concerned, the only previous attempt at anything approaching a complete list is Alexander S. Taylor's *Bibliografa Californica* published in the *Sacramento Union* of June 25, 1863, with additions in the same paper of March, 13, 1866. In a copy preserved in the Library of the California Pioneers in San Francisco, there are manuscript additions of still later date. This work contained over a thousand titles, but its field was the whole territory from Baja California to the Arctic Ocean, west of the Rocky Mountains, only about one-half the works relating to Alta California proper. Dr. Taylor's zeal in this

direction was most commendable, and his success, considering his extremely limited facilities, was wonderful."<sup>1</sup>

It is but just to add that although Mr. Bancroft awards this praise he does not consider the bibliography of Mr. Taylor as of much practical value.

Sir Frederick Palgrave Barlee, K. C. M. G., was born February 6, 1827. He was the third son of the Rev. Edward Barlee, M. A., rector of Worlingworth-cum-Southott, in the County of Suffolk, England. From 1844 to 1855 Mr. Barlee served in the Ordnance Department, and for nearly four years between those dates was barrack-master and storekeeper at Sierra Leone. Then he was appointed colonial secretary of Western Australia and a member of the executive and legislative councils, remaining in the colony twenty-one years, and resigning his seat in council in November, 1875. While in Australia he took an active part in the encouragement of explorations there, and had his name given to the great Lake Barlee, situated in about 29° S. lat. and 119°-120° E. long. In 1877 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of British Honduras. There his official position enabled him to render efficient aid to persons engaged in making explorations. His attention while in British Honduras was mainly devoted to opening up a fruit trade between that place and the West India Islands, and to developing in other ways a somewhat neglected colony, which, at the time of his appointment was subject to danger from the Ycaiche and Santa Cruz Indians, whom his firmness subdued and conciliated. Still, he found time to encourage and assist Dr. Le Plongeon in carrying on his examination of ruins in Yucatan.

In 1883 he resigned his appointment and returned to England. June 2, 1884, he started for Trinidad, whither he went to administer the government of the island during

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<sup>1</sup> History of the Pacific States of North America, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. XIII., p. 35.

the illness of Sir Sanford Freeling. There he died at St. Ann's on the seventh day of the following August. He married, in 1855, Jane, daughter of Edward John Ose-land, Esq., of Coleraine. She survives him, but he left no children.

Sir Frederick Barlee was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1862, and a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1878.

In the Report of the Council presented in April, 1866, our associate, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., made — in connection with his account of the specimens of early paper money then in the Society's possession — a valuable and very interesting contribution to the history of paper currency in Massachusetts. Within the last few years some new material for the earlier pages of that history has been brought to light, and facts concerning the first essays at banking in New England have been obtained from sources not known or not accessible at the date of Mr. Paine's report. It has seemed to the writer worth while to present these facts, by way of supplement to that report, and to add to them some account of three or four anonymous pamphlets relating to banking and the currency.

A report made to the Massachusetts General Court in 1652 alludes to "what hath bin thought of by any for raiseing a *Banke*." The draught of an address to Charles II., in 1684, mentions the fact that before the establishment of a mint, in 1652, "for some yeares, *paper-bills* passed for payment of debts." In 1686, under the brief presidency of Joseph Dudley, liberty was granted to John Blackwell, Esq., of Boston, and his associates, to erect and manage a bank of credit and to issue bills on the security of real and personal estate. These isolated facts, brought together by Dr. Felt in his "Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency," and by Mr. Paine, in the Report of the Council, April, 1866, were all that was

known of the first banks and bank-projectors in New England, or of the use of paper-money prior to the emission of colonial bills of credit in 1690.

To these scanty materials the discovery of a tract printed in Boston early in 1682, makes a considerable addition; and it also throws some light on the project (more particularly mentioned hereafter) of an "anonymous friend" of the second John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, for a "Bank of Lands & Commodities," which Winthrop communicated to Samuel Hartlib in 1660 or 1661, and on allusions to similar projects in his correspondence with the founders of the Royal Society.

This tract is so rare that it apparently has escaped the observation of every Massachusetts historian or antiquary since the time of Thomas Prince. Perhaps no perfect copy of it is extant. The one consulted by the writer, was formerly in the library of the late Mr. George Brinley,<sup>1</sup> and is now in the Watkinson Library at Hartford. It contains, on a single sheet in pot-quarto, the first eight pages of the tract, and is without a separate title-leaf or imprint. The title, which occupies the upper half of page 1, is:

"Severals relating to the | FUND | Printed for divers Reasons, as may appear." |

At the head of this page are three lines in the well-known handwriting of Prince:

"By page 6, this was written in 1681. Mr. B. Green senr. says this was Print'd at Boston by his Br. Samuel's Letter" [*i. e.* type.]

We may fix the date more exactly. On page 6 the writer mentions what was done in *September* of "this year 1681;" but on the next page he tells the result "in 6 moneths" thereafter. This brings the publication to March, 1681-2.

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<sup>1</sup> It must once have belonged to the Prince Library; but probably was thrown aside as worthless, and was rescued from a parcel of waste paper.

In this tract, the author explains and defends his "proposal for erecting a Fund of Land, by Authority, or private Persons, in the Nature of a *Money-Bank* or *Merchandise-Lumber*;"<sup>1</sup> tells how and with whom the project originated; and gives an account of his own agency in establishing such a bank in Massachusetts. His name does not appear; but, possibly, it was subscribed at the end of the pamphlet—the last sheet or half-sheet of which is wanting in the copy to which reference has been made. Fortunately, allusions to the personal history of the author are sufficiently definite to enable us to supply the omission and, with much confidence, assign the authorship to the Rev. JOHN WOODBRIDGE, of Newbury.

Mr. Woodbridge came to New England in 1634, at the age of twenty-one, with his uncle, the Rev. Thomas Parker, and his cousin, the Rev. James Noyes. In 1637 he was a representative of Newbury in the General Court, and again in 1638. About 1639, he married a daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley. Having decided to enter the ministry, he was ordained in 1645, pastor of the church in Andover; but his pastorate was a brief one. In 1647, he sailed for England, and remained there more than fifteen years. Shortly after his return, in the summer of 1663, he became the assistant of his uncle (Thomas Parker) in the ministry at Newbury. A controversy in that church led to his dismissal in 1670. He was empowered to act as a magistrate at Newbury, in 1677, '78 and '79, and in October, 1681, the town petitioned the General Court to grant Mr. Woodbridge "magistratical power," regarding him as "the fittest and most able for such a work in this place." He was chosen an Assistant in 1683, and again in 1684. His connexions with the principal families in the colony, and, particularly, with the leaders of the "moderate"

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<sup>1</sup> "The *Lombar* [*Lombarde*, *Lumbar*, *Lumbarde*,] or Banck for usurie or pawnes."—Minsheu, 1617. From the Lombards or Italian bankers who loaned money or sold bills, on pledge of merchandise or personal property.

party, assured him consideration in the Council and influence in public affairs. He was the brother-in-law of Joseph Dudley and of Governor Bradstreet. His daughter Lucy was the wife of the Governor's son, Simon Bradstreet. He was connected with the Winthrops, by the marriage of the Rev. Samuel Dudley, with Mary, daughter of (the first) Governor Winthrop.

In "Severals relating to the Fund," the author tells us "that he had as little skill in, as inclination to, or need of concerning himself in *mercantile Affairs*: nor came he into New-England with a thought to meddle therewith: as is well known to many." That he, "being better acquainted with *cælestial Dealings*, than with the politics of *mundane affairs*," "should concern himself to promote *Trade* for others, and that in this Land, a place not designed by the first Planters, for *Commerce*;" "that he should amongst such a People essay to promote a *Designe* not known in the day thereof (if yet) to be [essayed]<sup>1</sup> in any part of the world (although since in agitation [in England]), and then surely strange here, where the name of [the thing, or the] benefit thereby, was hardly heard of;" and "that he should, notwithstanding the reproaches cast upon him, & untruths raised & reported of this Thing, stil appear to justifie & promote the same, and encourage those who are satisfied thereof, and join with him in this undertaking"—are proofs "that the way of man is not in himself."

He goes on to give an account of the origin and progress of his scheme. "About the latter end of the year 1649, an intimate friend of the Author's in London, *Mr. William Potter*, who was likewise [*i. e.* like the Author] no Trader, imparted to him a *Designe* for the accommodation of Commerce, in the nature of a *Bank of money*; but to be founded upon *personal Credit*, by a considerable number of able Men Ingaging, as the *Found* thereof, to pass forth Credit; as a medium to enlarge the *Measure of money*;"

<sup>1</sup> A few words, lost from a corner of the page, are supplied here in brackets.



"or, by *depositing of Goods*, in the nature of a *Lumber* of Merchandise, to pass out Credit thereon, untill sold," etc. (p. 2). The plan was often discussed by the author and his friend. "Mr. Potter had about that time printed a Book in folio, relating to his designe, one whereof he bestowed on the Author," who — "upon the report that was given him of the Labyrinth New-England was in, for want of a *Conveniency to mete their Trade with*" — gave it, with good acceptance, to a kinsman<sup>1</sup> of his that was a merchant of this place.

This "book in folio" was entitled: "The Key of Wealth, or A new way for Improving of Trade." (London, 1650.) An abstract of it was published the same year, by the author, under the title of

"The Trades-man's Jewel: or A safe, easie, speedy and effectual Means, for the incredible advancement of Trade, And Multiplication of Riches; shewing How men of Indifferent Estates, may abundantly increase both their own and other Mens Trading and Riches, Without parting with Money, or any Stock out of their own hands: By making their Bills to become current instead of Money, and frequently to revolve through their Hands, with as much in Money as the Sums therein mentioned do amount unto. . . London, Edwin Husband and John Field, Printers to the Parliament of England, 1650."

A copy of this abstract, a quarto pamphlet of sixteen pages, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's library. The preparatory address "To the Judicious Reader," is signed by W. Potter, and refers to his "late Treatise, called *The Key of Wealth*," &c. McCulloch (Lit. of Political Economy, 159,) named "The Tradesman's Jewel," first in a list of "works introductory to and having reference to" the Bank of England, but gave 1659, instead of 1650, as the date of its publication. The earlier and larger work of Potter's seems not to have been known to

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly, Capt. Robert Keayne, whose son Benjamin had married Sarah Dudley, Mr. Woodbridge's wife's sister.

McCulloch, and is not mentioned by any recent writer on banking in England.

In May, 1652, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a council "to consider of all sorts of trading, and to consult about the best ways of improving the same," &c. (Mass. Records, III., 267 : IV. [1], 86.) The same year, we find the allusion, before-mentioned, to "what hath bin thought of by any for raising a *Banke*" (Felt's Mass. Currency, 33), and we learn that about this time some sort of "paper bills passed for payment of debts." (Ibid.) Under what association or on what security these bills were issued, does not appear. The establishment of a mint, May, 1652, probably put a stop, for a time, to any movement towards "raising a bank." The author of "Severals relating to the Fund" alludes to some such movement, but "before anything was brought to effect," he "was called to Ireland," and discontinued his endeavors to promote the banking project.

Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut went to England in the summer of 1661. Before leaving home, he had "hinted," in one of his letters to Samuel Hartlib, at "some proposalls concerning a way of trade and banke w<sup>th</sup>out money." In reply (the first letter of the "Correspondence of several of the Founders of The Royal Society with Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut," communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1878, by the President,<sup>1</sup>) Hartlib, after mentioning the death of Dr. Robert Child ("in Ireland, about 3 yeares agoe,") continues :

"If your other Friend come into England, I pray doe not faile to address him to my acquaintance. For if the Lord should yet spare my health, I may perhaps not bee unuseful to him, both for his Improvement of that Talent of y<sup>e</sup>. *Bank of Lands & Comodities*, as likewise for his skill in Iron Works, discovery of Minerals, & y<sup>e</sup> Singularities about Salt-Works & y<sup>e</sup>. Separating the fresh Water from the Salt in a speedy easy way. I wish his occasions would draw him over."

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society, 1878, pp. 213, 214.

Further on, he recurs to the subject :

"I passionately long for your Anonymous Friend's (whom also before you have named) Method to raise such vast Profits without such engagement of Lands as the said Bank of Lands requireth."

And again :

"If G. spare my life & health, I shal acquaint you more largely with the Banke of Lands. . . *Mr. Potter* hath very much elaborated y<sup>e</sup> whole Designe, but is not so willing to act for y<sup>e</sup> present. *Mr. Benjamin Worsley*, our Special Friend, is much dealing with his Maj. and some of his Privy Council, to bee sent over as an Agent or Resident of all the Plantations.<sup>1</sup> If it bee granted, great numbers of honest People will replenish all English Plantations, and then *Mr. Potter's Contrivances will bee best set on foot amongst them.* . . I pray again let mee heare largely of your *Anonymous Friend.*"

When this was written (Sept. 3, 1661,) Winthrop was already in England. Four months afterwards (Jan. 1, 1661-2) he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. We hear nothing more of the "anonymous friend," but, it is clear that the project which Winthrop submitted to the Council of the Society — and which may have been a modification of Potter's scheme — was understood to be his own. After Governor Winthrop's return to Connecticut, Oldenburg wrote to him from London, Aug. 5, 1663 :

"Your conceptions about a bank are now in y<sup>e</sup> hands of *Mr. Brereton*," &c. "When I shall have received y<sup>e</sup> sentiment of understanding men concerning y<sup>e</sup> same, I shall not faile, God permitting, to signify it unto you."

And in November, 1663, Winthrop, in a letter on this subject, to the Hon. Wm. Brereton, mentions a communication to the Council of the Royal Society, when he "declared some proposalls concerning a way of trade & banke without money," a copy of which he left with the

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<sup>1</sup> "Some differences" between Gov. Winthrop and Mr. John Clarke, agent for Rhode Island, as to the construction of the Connecticut charter, were referred for arbitration to William Brereton, Esq., Major Robert Thomson, Dr. Benjamin Worsley, and others. Their agreement was dated April 7th, 1663; and the assent of Winthrop and Clarke to this agreement was witnessed by Robert Thomson, B. Worsley, and *William Potter*. See Conn. Col. Rec., ii., 528-9; Winthrop Papers, iv. (5 Mass. Hist. Coll., viii.), 83.

Council for their perusal. He had "given out no copies of it, nor made it known to any other." He appears to have had confidence that his proposed bank would "answer all those ends that are attained in other parts of the world by banks of ready money."<sup>1</sup>

In 1664, the author of "Severals relating to the Fund" had returned to New England [Mr. Woodbridge reached Boston in July, 1663,] and "his lot being here cast," he "imparted to a publick-spirited Merchant, with what ease and safety their *Measure* might be enlarged." At the request of this merchant, the author gave him the plan in writing, and this, having been communicated to divers others, they were of opinion "that something might be done about it in due season." (p. 3.)

"About three years after this, — that foregoing being wholly buried," — the author again brought the matter to the notice of "divers Country Gentlemen, Yeomen, and others," and the notion "spread abroad, to the occasioning of several debates among those who were Considerable, both in *Parts & Purse*: and stopped not untill the honoured Council heard thereof." Soon after this, the author received notice that "the Council would send speedily for him, about this Concern;" and "he set upon drawing a second Draught, in the dress of a *Proposal*." This was presented to the Council, and — with some additions and explanations, but "the same for substance with that on file in the Records of the General Court" — is embodied in the pamphlet under consideration. It is entitled, "A Proposal for erecting a FUND of *Land*, by Authority, or Private Persons, in the nature of a *Money-Bank*; or *Merchandise-Lumber*, to pass Credit upon, by *Book-Entries*; or *Bills of Exchange*, for great Payments; and *Change-bills* for running Cash. Wherein is demonstrated, First, the necessity of having a *Bank*, to enlarge the *Measure* of Dealings in this Land, by shewing the benefit of *Money*, if enough

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<sup>1</sup> See Note A.

to mete Trade with; and the disadvantages, when it is otherwise;" and, "Secondly, That Credit pass'd in *Fund*, by Book, and Bills, (as afore) will fully supply the defect of *Money*. Wherein is related, of how little value *Coin*, as the Measure of Trade, need be, in itself; what Inconveniences subject to. The worth a *Fund*-Bill, or Payment therein, is of: & not of that Hazard."

"Although *Cash* be so useful; yet it is but a ready conveniency"—argues the author: "Intrinsic value is not essential to a thing meerly good for Exchange; and serving barely to procure what one wants, that another abounds with;" and "this (except here were *Mines*, to transport *bullion*, for foreign Trade) *Bank-bills*, or payments therein, will effect, to all intents, as well as plenty of Coin; which, as *money*, doth neither feed nor cloath:" etc.

The plan, and the arguments by which it is supported, do not widely differ from those of the Land Banks projected by Dr. Chamberlen, John Briscoe, and others, in England, between 1685 and 1695, or from that of the Massachusetts Land Bank of 1714.

In 1674, and again in 1678, the author was requested, "by divers well-wishers to the Fund," to print a "narrative of it," with "the proceedings thereon, to that time:" but as the *theory* had been sufficiently discussed, and the "*practic* part" could not well be taught in print, he determined to test the project by the issue of bills.

"Having by accident, some respite time this year, 1681, and accomodated with *Spirit*, *Purse*, and *Hand*, the ingredients that must center, as in one, for any considerable undertaking, he did, in September, begin to pass forth *Bills*, to make an experiment of that which had passed the Scrutiny of above 30 years, with approbation. . . In 6 moneths a considerable number espoused the designe; besides those that were concerned in the years '71 and '72. Whereupon, it became as a Galley floating upon the stream

of opinion, into which He and He would thrust an oar." Opposers of the design, "wanting weighty objections, let fly broad-sides of pot-gun-pellets, chained with fallacies and buffoonry." His friends urged him to hasten the publication of an account of the design, and this was endeavored in his present pamphlet.

He proceeds to give, first, "some Rules most needful to be known, for the directing those in Company;" the style of entries, and forms of pass-bills, etc., and then passes to a narrative of "the manner of erecting the *Fund*, which was March 30, 1671, and the carrying it on in private; for many moneths, and the reasons for putting a stop to it, when *bills* where just to be issued forth," etc.

This narrative, and a statement which followed it, of "the debates that are carried on concerning Commerce," are wanting in the imperfect copy of the pamphlet which has come down to us. These, with some other matters were "passed over to the second sheet"—the first ending (on page 8) with the "rules relating to the Fund." Enough remains, however, to establish the facts, that a "Fund of Land" or bank of credit was started in Massachusetts in March, 1671, and was "carried on in private for many months"—though without issue of bills, and that, ten years later, a private bank of credit was established and began to issue bills in September, 1681. Of the result of this enterprise, we have no information—except in the assurance that it did not ruin its projector. Cotton Mather (*Magnalia*, b. 3, p. 4, ch. 5) tells us that after Mr. Woodbridge's suspension from his ministry at Newbury (1672?), "the remarkable blessing of God upon his own *private estate* abundantly made up to him the *publick stipend* which he had parted withal."

In the summer of 1686, a few weeks after Joseph Dudley had received his commission as president, a proposal was made to him and his council, "by John Blackwell of Boston,

Esqr., on behalf of himselfe and divers others, his participants, as well in England as in this country; as also, a Constitution, Modell or Frame of Rules and Orders requisit, and to be observed, in the erecting and maintaining of a Bank of Credit Lumbard and Exchange of Moneys by Persons of approved Integrity, prudence & estates in this Country, wherein such a foundation is layd for delivering out Bills, or giving Credit, on such Real Estates of Lands, as also personal Estates of goods and Merchandizes not subject to perishing or decay," etc. This proposal, with the annexed Constitution, was referred by the Council, by an order of July 3d, 1686, "to the Grand and Standing Committee, consisting of divers eminent & worthy persons, Merchants and others, to consider thereof, and report," etc. : and this committee having reported favorably, the President and Council, Sept. 27, 1686, "judge the said undertaking is not only lawfull to be managed by any of his Majesties subjects, as any other calling, but will tend much to his Majesties service, and the benefitt of these parts:" and "do therefore . . . own the sayd proposall as a publique and useful invention for this Countrey," and "thinke fitt in his Majesties name to declare our Approbation, Allowance, and Recomendation thereof," etc.<sup>1</sup>

Capt. John Blackwell had been a member of parliament, for Surrey, in 1656, and treasurer of the army, under Cromwell. In 1657, the parliament by a special act settled on him and his heirs certain lands in the counties of Dublin and Kildare, in Ireland. At the restoration of Charles II., he was excepted from the general pardon, and probably retired to his estates in Ireland. In 1672, he had returned to England, "from Ireland, being a widower," and was about "to marry my Lord [Major-general John]

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<sup>1</sup> The original draught is in the Massachusetts Archives, 'Usurpation,' vol. I., pp. 104-107, and underwritten is the order for engrossing it and affixing the Seal of the President and Council. Dr. Felt (p. 46) gives the preamble of this bill, and it is noticed by Mr. Paine (p. 38).

Lambert's second daughter."<sup>1</sup> He came to Boston in 1684, commissioned by "divers persons in England and Ireland, gentlemen, citizens, and others, being inclined to remove themselves into foreign parts."<sup>2</sup> In January, 1685, he obtained from Massachusetts a grant of land in the "Nipmug country," for himself "and several other worthy gentlemen and others in England that are desirous to remove hither."<sup>3</sup> He was in nomination for an Assistant in May, 1686, but was not chosen. After Dudley became President, his relations with Captain Blackwell were very friendly, and Edward Randolph made it a special ground of complaint to the Lord's Committee, that this "son-in-law of Lambert," "a violent Commonwealth's man," was "made a justice of the peace by Governor Dudley and his Council, and consulted with in all public affairs."<sup>4</sup>

All that is known of the history of this association — the first *chartered* bank in Massachusetts — is found in a brief reference to it made by the anonymous author of a pamphlet printed in 1714: <sup>5</sup>

"Our Fathers about Twenty-eight years ago, entered into a Partnership to circulate their Notes founded on Land Security, stamped on Paper, as our Province Bills, which gave no offence to the Government then," &c.

"How long or how far the preceding Corporation continued their operations, we are unable to tell," wrote Mr. Felt. "This much, however, is certain, that if it existed, as it very probably did, till the Revolution of 1689, it did not survive any longer." It is more probable that it did

<sup>1</sup> Conn. Col. Records, III., 246, note: Hutchinson Papers, in 3 Mass. Hist. Collections, I., 61.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from D. Coxe to Gov. Bradstreet, in Hutchinson, I., 345, note. And see Palfrey, III., 498, note.

<sup>3</sup> Mass. Records, V., 467.

<sup>4</sup> 3 Mass. Hist. Collections, VII., 154.

<sup>5</sup> "Letter from one in Boston to his Friend in the Country, in answer to a Letter to John Burrill Esq. Speaker to the House of Representatives, for the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New-England." Boston, 1714. (p. 37). The passage was quoted by Mr. Felt (p. 47) and in Mr. Paine's Report. (*Proceedings*, April, 1866, p. 38.)



not survive the presidency of Dudley, for in November, 1688, Capt. Blackwell left Boston with a commission from William Penn, as governor of Pennsylvania, and did not return to Boston until 1690.<sup>1</sup> Before the end of that year the Colony of Massachusetts took to itself the office and obligations of a 'bank of credit,' and for the next twenty years we hear no more of private banking.

Dec. 10, 1690, to provide for the payment of the soldiers who had returned from the disastrous expedition to Canada and to meet other charges incurred in that expedition, "the government had recourse to an expedient which proved fruitful of mischief to the Colony through two generations."<sup>2</sup> The General Court ordered the emission of a paper currency — "the first bills of public credit known in the American colonies;" and these bills were declared to "be in value equal to money, and [were to] be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer and Receivers subordinate to him in all publick payments and for any Stock at any time in the Treasury."

The first issue of these bills was limited to £7000. A second emission was ordered, Feb. 3, 1690–91. In May, 1691, the General Court ordered that the bills out and to be emitted shall not exceed £40,000, "which is supposed will amount to the full of what the country is indebted," etc.<sup>3</sup> Some time afterwards, before the end of the year, a noteworthy — but, hitherto, nearly unnoticed — pamphlet was printed in Boston, in support of the action of the government in the issue of bills of credit and to advocate the substitution of 'paper money' for 'stampd silver.' It had no separate title-page, but page 1 is headed with the title: "Some Considerations on the BILLS of CREDIT now passing in New-England. Addressed unto the Worshipful, John

<sup>1</sup> His commission was dated July 12, 1688. He arrived in Philadelphia, Dec. 17. His last speech to the Provincial Council, after the resignation of his office, was made Jan. 1, 1690. — *Minutes of Prov. Council of Penn.*, I., 184, 270, 271.

<sup>2</sup> Palfrey, IV., 58.

<sup>3</sup> Felt, 51.

Philips Esqr. Published for the Information of the Inhabitants." These 'Considerations' end on p. 9; and pp. 11-23 are occupied with "Some Additional Considerations Addressed unto the Worshipful Elisha Hutchinson, Esq. By a Gentleman that had not seen the foregoing Letter." The imprint (in colophon) is: "Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and John Allen: And are to be Sold at the London Coffee-House. 1691." (12mo. pp. 23.)

The authorship of the first part of this pamphlet must, in the opinion of the present writer, be attributed to the Rev. COTTON MATHER — a son-in-law<sup>1</sup> of "the worshipful John Phillips Esqr." to whom the "Considerations" were addressed. Col. Phillips was treasurer of the Colony, from the revolution in 1689 until May, 1692, and was one of the committee appointed to issue (and sign) the bills of credit. "You know, Sir," says the author of the "Considerations" (p. 3), "you and *I* have had some former Discourse about the *Nature of Money*. That (as such) it is but a *Counter* or *Measure* of mens Proprieties, and Instituted *mean* of permutation," etc. The letter begins, in the style of familiar address, as follows: "*Mr. Treasurer* :

I am told, and am apt to believe it, That the Exchequer in *Silver* Runs very Low; Nor can *I* think that the Country in General is much better furnished. 'Twas an honest and good method you took, to pay by *Bonds* what you could not by *Ready Cash*. I therefore cannot a little wonder at the great indiscretion of our Countrymen who Refuse to accept that, which they call *Paper-money*, as pay of equal value with the best *Spanish Silver*. What? is the word *Paper* a scandal to them? Is a *Bond* or *Bill-of-Exchange* for 1000 *l*, other than *Paper*?" etc. (pp. 1, 2).

On page 4, a reference to the currency of private bills as a "current pay" in "the Western Parts" deserves notice:

"'Tis strange that one Gentleman's Bills at *Port-Royal* for divers years, and that among *Forreigners*, or another

<sup>1</sup> He married Abigail, daughter of Col. John Phillips, May 4, 1686.

Gentleman's Bills in the Western Parts for as many or more years should gain so much Credit as to be current pay, among the Traders in those places; yea, that the Bill (as I have heard of any *one Magistrate* in the *Western English Plantation* [New York? or Connecticut?] shall buy any Commodities of any of the Planters; and yet our people (in this pure air) be so sottish as to deny Credit to the Government when 'tis of their own *chusing*: Had the *single Gentlemen* (above named) a good bottom for their Credit in their *Ware-houses*, and are not the whole *Estates* of the *Massachusetts* as good? Is the Security of one *Plantation-Magistrate*, better than that of *All the Massachusetts Representatives*? can that one *Magistrate* give force to the Contracts, and cannot *All our Government* do the same?

Certainly, Sir, were not peoples Heads Idly bewhizled with Conceits that we have no *Magistrates*, no *Government*, And by Consequence that we have no *Security* for any thing which we call our own (a *Consequence* they will be Loth to allow, though they cannot help it, If once we are Reduced to *Hobs* his state of *Nature*, which (says he) is a *state of War*, and then the *strongest* must *take all*) I say if such foolish conceits were not Entertained, there would not be the least Scruple in accepting your Bills as Currant Pay."

After pointing out the impossibility of collecting the taxes in *silver*, and inconvenience and loss of receiving them in *corn* "at overvalue," the writer asks,—

"If neither *Silver* can be had, nor Corn brought in without loss both to the Government and People, what remains but *Accounts*, *Bills*, or such like *Paper-pay*? and certainly this necessity may (if I mistake not) bring to the whole Country no small advantage; for

1. Is there not hereby 40,000 *l. Running Cash* in the Country more than *ever was*, if mens folly hinder not its Currency? yea and more than they are *ever like* to have, so long as they cannot keep Silver in the Country, which they will never do while the *Europæan Trade* continues, and that is like to be as long as we are a people. *Silver* in New-England is like the water of a *swift Running River*, always coming, and as fast going away; one (in its passage) dips a Bucket-full, another a Dish or Cup-full for

his occasions; but if the *Influx* of plate from the *West-Indies* be stopt for a little while, and the *Efflux* in Returne for England continue, shall not the Mill-pond be quickly dreined, so as neither Bucket nor Cup can dip its fill? Whereas on the contrary,

2. This our *Running Cash* is an *abiding Cash*: for no man will carry it to another Country, where it will not pass; but rather use it here, where it will (or at least, *ought*):" etc.—pp. 6, 7.

His final appeal is made to the pride as well as to the patriotism of the colonists:

"To Conclude (*Fas est et ab Hoste doceri*) The *French* (I hear) at *Canada* pass such *Paper mony* without the least scruple; whereby the Government is greatly Fortified, since they can at all times make what they need. Now if we account ourselves to Transcend the *French* in *Courage*, 'tis a shame for us to come so far short of them in *Wit* and *Understanding*."

The writer of the "Additional Considerations," addressed to Elisha Hutchinson<sup>1</sup> in answer to his "desire of seeing some thoughts upon the Subject we have had before us," describes himself as "one who counts and loves *New-England* as his Country, tho' he was not Born and Bred in it." This description suggests the name of Capt. John Blackwell, projector of the private bank authorized in 1686. In these few pages, the emission of bills of credit is defended and the advantages of a resort to paper as a substitute for silver are set forth, with considerable ability and address.

"The Country" — says the writer — "is plunged into Circumstances that require *heavy Taxes* to preserve us from ruines, that would be thousands of thousands of pounds *heavier* than our most heavy *Taxes*:" the public charges for the payment of the soldiers employed in public service and for the defence of New England against the expected

<sup>1</sup> Major Elisha Hutchinson was one (and the first named) of the committee to "print and grant forth" the bills of credit of 1690.

incursions of the enemy must be defrayed; and this must necessarily be done either by taxation, or by voluntary contribution of the inhabitants — which “would not do the *tenth part* of what must be done to prevent our perishing; & besides, would lay the burden upon those that are the most *willing*, but not the most *able* to provide for the common safety.” “It is to be remembered, that nothing is levied on this People but by their *own Consent* in a General Assembly. And they deserve not the name of *Englishmen*, that are not more *ready*, and count it not more *easie*, to part with a *pound* in this way than a penny in the former Arbitrary Mode” [under the government of Andros]. “All the taxes hitherto raised have been most advantageously employed. . . The great complaint [now] is, that our venturesome Expedition to *Canada* hath run us into Debt:” but “it should be considered that the *voice of the people* every where called for it,” and “our Neighbors in the *West* [New York and Connecticut] made us believe they would lay all the mischief that should be done by the *French* at our doors, if we did not attempt it. . . Had the *West* not failed us wee had certainly bin Masters of *Canada*.” Though in the main unsuccessful, the expedition had done much to secure the safety of New England; for “had they not gone with the Fleet to Canada, a thousand *Boss-Lopers*<sup>1</sup> had been upon our Country Towns and laid them waste.”

“Upon the *Difficulties* and *Necessities* which the Country hath been brought into, a better way could not well be thought upon than the *BILLS of CREDIT* now passing (or

<sup>1</sup> Dutch *Bosch-looper* or *Bos-looper* was the equivalent of French *Coursur de bois*. It was semi-anglicized as “bushloper.” Mr. John Nelson of Boston in a Memorial to the Commissions for Trade, etc., in 1696, mentioned “our hunters, or *bushlopers* as they are called about Albanie.” *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. of New York*, IV., 208. “Bush-lopers or Indian traders.” Colden's *Hist. of the Five Nations*, ch. iv. Cotton Mather caught the name, and in his *Life of Sir William Phips* (London, 1697, p. 41), repeats the statement that the “voyage to *Canada* diverted from his Country an *Horrible Tempest* from an Army of *Boss-Lopers*, which had prepar'd themselves, as 'tis affirmed, that Winter, to fall upon the *New-English Colonies*,” etc.

that should be so) among us. *Silver* we have not enough in the Country to do what *must be done*, more being usually *Exported* than is *Improved*. And why may we not do as well without it as other Plantations of *America*? What is the use of *Coynd Silver*, but to furnish a man with *Credit*, that he may obtain from his Neighbours those Commodities, which he hath occasion for?"

By these bills, "the Country in the General Court have *recognized and acknowledged* a debt" to servants of the public: and "the Credit conveyed by these bills now *circulates* from one hand to another, as mens dealings are, until the *Publick Taxes* call for it."

"It is strange to think that *New-Englanders*, who dwell in such a *keen air*, should not have sharpness enough to perceive the *prudence, justice* and universal *benefit*, of paying and saving publick Charges, by these *Bills of Credit*. . . It is a common thing for the Government at *Quebeck* to pay their men in such ways, & the Inhabitants there are not so dishonest as to cheat the needy persons to whom the *Bills* were first given, of half the worth of them. . . And shall not the Government of this Colony, have much Credit with a people that *choose* all, and *make* part of it?"

"The more sensible part of mankind"—in the judgment of the writer—"have thought *Banks of Credit* on many Accounts preferable to *silver in their Pockets*; it is so in *Venice, Paris, Leghorn & Amsterdam*, and other such trading places:" and, "if we as well understood our interest, these Bills would in a little time be so valuable, that men would cheerfully give *Silver* to purchase them at their full Credit." They "have some advantages which *stamp Silver* will never have; they are so well contrived, that it is harder to Counterfeit any of them, than to counterfeit any *Coyn* in the World. And though they are more *Portable* than *Coyn*, yet they will not be *Exported* out of the Land," etc.

"It is not worth to take notice of the foolish Flout of some, in the Name they put upon these Bills, calling them

*Paper-mony*; when all know that a *Paper* signed and sealed may be worth many Pounds of Silver. And why may not *Paper-mony* be as good as *Tobacco-mony*, *Potato-mony* and *Sugar-mony*? yea, do not our Brethren at *Connecticut* find *Corn-mony*<sup>1</sup> will do their business for them. All the difference is, that some *English-People* in *America* know how to make a Bargain with what they *Have*, for what they *Have not*; which it is time for *New-England* to Learn."

But "the debasing of [these bills], so that *twenty shillings* in a *Bill* can scarce find *Credit* for fourteen or fifteen shillings of *stamped silver*," naturally "clogs the passing" of them. Many proposals for establishing their Credit had been made to the Government. In the opinion of the writer, "they need only do this: Let the *Publick Rates* be vigorously raised;" in one year, the rates will bring back all the bills into the treasury, where they will be cancelled; and "common sense will teach the people to furnish themselves with these bills; though they give *ready Silver* for them, they will find they thereby save a Shilling in a Pound," in payments to the treasurer.

In fact, the credit of the bills *was* re-established, as the time of payment of the tax approached: "and the government allowing five per cent. to those who paid their taxes in notes, they became better than money. This," remarks Hutchinson,<sup>2</sup> "was gain to the possessor, but it did not restore to the poor soldier what he had lost by the discount."

If there is any doubt of Cotton Mather's authorship of the first part of this pamphlet ("Some Considerations," &c.) of 1691, there is none as to his approval of the issue of Bills of Credit, or of his belief in the excellence of a paper-currency. The substance of the "Considerations" of 1691 is incorporated in his "Life of His Excellency Sir William Phips, Knt.," first published, anonymously, in

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<sup>1</sup> See Note B.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I., p. 402.

London, in 1697,<sup>1</sup> and reprinted in the *Magnalia* (Book II., App.) After giving an account of the expedition against Canada, and the consequences to New-England, of its disastrous failure,—“there being *Forty Thousand* pounds, more or less, now to be paid, and not a Penny in the Treasury to pay it withal”—he says :

“In this *Extremity*, they presently found out an *Expedient*, which may serve as an *Example*, for any People, in other parts of the World, whose Distresses may call for a sudden supply of *Money* to carry them through any Important *Expedition*.”

How Mather must have enjoyed the construction of that sentence, in which the alliteration is emphasized by capitals and italics.

“The *General Assembly* first pass'd an Act, for the Levying of such a sum of *Money* as was wanted . . . and this *Act* was a *Fund*, on which the *Credit* of such a Sum, should be rendered *passable* among the people. Hereupon, there was appointed an Able and Faithful *Committee* of Gentlemen, who printed from *Copper-Plates*,<sup>2</sup> a just Number of *Bills*, and Florished, Indented, and Contrived them, in such a manner as to make it Impossible to Counterfeit any of them, without a Speedy Discovery of the *Counterfeit*: besides which, they were all Signed by the Hands of *three* belonging to that *Committee*.” . . . “The *publick Debts* to the *Sailors* and *Souldiers*, now upon the point of *Mutiny* (for, *Arma Tenenti, Omnia dat, qui Justa negat!*) were in these *Bills* paid immediately :” etc.

But, “many people being afraid that the Government would in half a year be so overturned as to convert their *Bills of Credit* altogether into *Wast-paper*, the *Credit* of them was thereby very much impaired.” The first receivers could get for them no more than fourteen or fifteen shillings in the pound; “from whence there arose Idle *Suspicion*s in the Heads of many more Ignorant and Unthinking Folks

<sup>1</sup> “*Pietas in Patriam*,” &c. . . “Written by one intimately acquainted with Him.” Sect. 12, pp. 43-45.

<sup>2</sup> See Note C.



concerning the Use thereof, which to the Incredible Detriment of the Province, are not wholly laid aside unto this Day." So far, Mather in 1697: and we, nearly two centuries later, may add that similar "suspicions" of the value of irredeemable paper-money as a substitute for coin, are even now occasionally manifested.

In a resort to the issue of bills of public credit, "Barbadoes was the first which followed the example" of Massachusetts, says Hutchinson (I., 402, note): "Mr. Woodbridge, a New-England man, was the projector." From Poyer's History of Barbadoes (pp. 193, 194,) we learn that, in 1704, "to supply the want of cash, a Mr. Dudley Woodbridge suggested a scheme for the establishment of a Bank, proposing himself to be sole manager. The project was sustained by the governor [Sir Bevill Granville], who laid the plan before the Assembly for their consideration." It was not favorably received; but the *plan* "was soon revived, with a few trifling alterations, to give it the appearance of originality." A law was passed authorizing the Treasurer to issue £65,000. This "Paper-credit act" was repealed, October, 1706, by Her Majesty in Council. "Their bills had sank so low that the Island was in confusion and they soon abolished them." (Hutchinson, I., 402, note.)

We may hazard the conjecture that the "scheme for a Bank" in Barbadoes, proposed by Mr. Dudley Woodbridge, was borrowed, wholly or in part, from that of the "Fund of Land" or "Money-Bank" started in Massachusetts in 1671, and again in 1681, — of which the Rev. John Woodbridge appears to have been the projector.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "If I am not misinformed, one of the principal Islands in the West Indies took their measures of making Bills of Credit, from a Gentleman brought up in New-England, who advised them of the great benefit they were to this Country." "As for Barbadoes, . . . a certain Gentleman going out of this Country about the year 1702, and being received into favour with the Government in Barbadoes, advised them of the great benefit that Paper-Bills are to this Government," etc. — *The Second Part of South-Sea Stock, &c.* (Boston, 1721), pp. 7, 13.

Only brief allusion to the history of Massachusetts currency from 1691 to 1714 is permitted here. A few sentences from Hutchinson may bridge the interval between the first emission of bills of public credit and the projection of a private "land bank."

"So many bills had been issued for the charges of the war, particularly the large sum of forty thousand pounds, issued for the Canada expedition, that they were become the sole instrument and measure of commerce, and silver and gold were entirely banished. Of two instruments, one in use in a particular State only, the other with the whole commercial world, it is easy to determine which must leave that particular State and which remain. The currency of silver and gold entirely ceasing, the price of every thing bought or sold was no longer compared therewith, but with the paper bills, or rather with mere ideal pounds, shillings and pence. . . . It was thought that increasing the paper bills would enliven and reform the trade."—*History of Mass.*, II., 187, 188.

In 1709, Connecticut and New Hampshire followed the example of Massachusetts. To meet the public debts and charges of the government, "especially in the intended expedition to Canada," the General Court at Hartford, in June, ordered bills of credit on the Colony to the amount of 8000 pounds to be imprinted, "indented and stamped with such stamps as the Governour and Council shall direct:"<sup>1</sup> one half the amount to be signed and delivered to the Treasurer "as soon as may be." The remaining 4000 pounds were ordered to be signed and issued, in October, of the same year and, by an additional act, bills of the value of 11,000 pounds were printed, "of the same tenor and date" (July 12, 1709,) as the former.<sup>2</sup> Another issue of 4000 pounds, still "of the same tenour and date" was ordered in May, 1711.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hoadly has inserted in his

<sup>1</sup> Col. Records of Connecticut, 1706-16, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 127, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Id., 228.

publication of the Colony Records, 1706-16 (p. 111), a fac-simile of one of the first bills issued by Connecticut. In this, as in all other bills of the same tenor and date, the colony seal is engraved in the lower left-hand corner. The scroll-work, or other embellishment of the seal, was different for the different denominations. As an additional precaution against counterfeiting and alteration of the bills, after the earliest issue of the plates, paper was obtained from England, having special water-marks, and A. R. [for Anna Regina] in an elaborate cipher was printed in *red* on the face of each bill.

In February, 1705, Massachusetts had directed the Treasurer to procure forty reams of paper from London, every ten of which should have a different stamp, so that an impression may be visible in the centre of each bill; and "that the Company of Stationers who have the sole making of paper in England, be prayed not to use those stamps on any other occasion."<sup>1</sup> Connecticut adopted the same expedient. The paper was procured of "Mr. Philips" [Samuel Phillips of Boston?] and the printing was done through Mr. Jeremiah Dummer. In February, 1711-12, the Governor and Council ordered payment of Mr. Dummer's "charge of printing 6550 sheets, to the value of ten thousand pounds,"—and that what "is left of the paper, be returned to Mr. Philips of whom it was taken."<sup>2</sup>

The Massachusetts bills of the issue of May 31st, 1710, and the New Hampshire bills of the issue of December 6th, 1709, were printed on the same kind of paper; and the interlaced cipher, A. R., on the face of these bills seems to have been impressed from the same plate. On both, the arms of England (not, as in Connecticut, the colonial seal,) stand in the lower left-hand corner. The three plates were

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<sup>1</sup> Felt, *Mass. Currency*, 60; from *Mass. Archives*, 'Pecuniary,' vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Conn. Col. Records*, 1706-1716, p. 300. In 1713, "our plates for printing bills of credit," were "put into Mr. Dummer's hands to be altered." *Id.*, 337.

probably made by the same engraver; but on the Connecticut bills the Queen's cipher is somewhat more elaborately fashioned and is printed in livelier red than on the Massachusetts and New Hampshire bills.<sup>1</sup>

Early in February, 1714, a movement was made by a number of gentlemen in Boston for the establishment of a private bank, founded on land security. Meetings to procure subscriptions to the stock were held at the Exchange Tavern,<sup>2</sup> and rules were adopted, for submission to the General Court. Their "scheme" was substantially the same that was proposed in a pamphlet printed in London in 1688,<sup>3</sup> and which was now re-printed in Boston, with a prefatory note or advertisement dated Feb. 26, 1713-14, announcing that a "scheme for a Bank of Credit founded upon a Land Security has been accordingly projected, and will be humbly offered to the consideration of the General Assembly at the next Session."

Governor Hutchinson, whose father was one of the leaders of the anti-bank party, and who was himself a declared enemy of "paper-money emissions" of all descriptions—reviewing after the lapse of half a century the controversy of 1714-16, says, that the private bank party "generally, consisted of persons in difficult or involved circumstances in trade, or such as were possessed of real estates, but had little or no ready money at command, or men of no substance at all; and we may well enough suppose the party to be very numerous. Some, no doubt, joined them from mistaken principles, and an apprehension that it was a scheme beneficial to the public, and some for party sake and popular applause. THREE of the representatives of Boston, Mr. [Elisha] Cooke, son to the agent, we have so often mentioned, Mr. [Oliver] Noyes, a gentleman, in great esteem with the inhabitants in general, and Mr. [William] Payne, were the supporters of the party. Mr. [Thomas] Hutchinson, the other (an attempt to leave him out of the House not succeeding) was sent from the

<sup>1</sup> See Note D.

<sup>2</sup> Felt, 66; from the *Boston News-Letter*, No. 512.

<sup>3</sup> See Note E.

House to the Council, where his opposition would be of less consequence. The Governor [Joseph Dudley] was no favorer of the scheme, but the Lieutenant Governor [William Tailer], a gentleman of no great fortune, and whose stipend from the government was trifling, engaged in this cause with great zeal."<sup>1</sup>

As regards the "involved circumstances" and want of "substance" of the projectors, "generally," Hutchinson's statement must be received with some allowance for bias.<sup>2</sup> In Boston, as he admits, three of the four representatives were in favor of the private bank. In fact, they were subscribers to its stock, and associated with them were some of the leading merchants and most influential citizens of the Province. "A Vindication of the Bank of Credit," etc., published in December, 1714,<sup>3</sup> was subscribed, "at the desire and in behalf of the Partnership," by Samuel Lynde, E[dward] Lyde, John Colman, Elisha Cooke, jun., J[ohn] Oulton, Timothy Thornton, Oliver Noyes, William Pain, and Nathaniel Oliver,—certainly a fair representation of the business-men of Boston at that time.

In October, Paul Dudley published his "Objections to the Bank of Credit lately Projected at Boston, being a Letter upon that Occasion, to John Burril, Esq.; Speaker of the House of Representatives," etc.<sup>4</sup> The "Objections" to a *private* bank of credit—a "partnership bank," "set up and carried on without a *charter* from the Crown" and "without the knowledge and leave of his Majesty's Govern-

<sup>1</sup> History of Massachusetts, II., 207, 208.

<sup>2</sup> "I think I may be allowed"—he wrote to a correspondent in England,— "to call myself the father of the present fixed medium, and perhaps, have a natural bias in favour of it."—Felt, 182; from Mass. Archives.

<sup>3</sup> In answer to Paul Dudley's "Objections" etc.

<sup>4</sup> This pamphlet is the first named in the List appended to the Report of the Council, April, 1866, of Books and Pamphlets in the Society's Library which refer to Colonial or Continental Paper-Currency. The name of the author is not on the title-page, but was *subscribed* to the Letter (p. 81), with the date of Oct. 22, 1714. A "Postscript" was added, after the writer was informed that "the Bankers had new modelled their Projection, and Reformed it, as they reckon, in two Articles."

ment of this Province"—were clearly presented and forcibly urged. Of their soundness there can be no question. To "a Bank of Credit in general, were it well-founded, well limited and regulated by the Government, and equal to our own Current-Money, as such a Bank ought to be," his objections did not apply; nor was he opposed—"considering the demand of the Government as to their Taxes, and the great occasions of the People as to their Trade"—to another emission of provincial bills of credit: though, he admits (p.24) that

"had not the absolute Necessity of the Government and People required it, it had been better (in the Opinion of many Wise Men) for the Province, they had never made any *Bills* or *Paper-Money* at all."

Of nearly thirty pamphlets and tracts printed from 1714 to 1721, inclusive, for and against a private bank or a public bank, the emission of bills of credit, and paper-currency in general, this of Mr. Dudley's was the first, and is in some respects the ablest. Two or three sentences may be quoted here:

"Now Money is of the greatest Importance, and last Consequence to a *Common-Wealth*; for as 'tis the Sinews of *War*, so 'tis the Strength of *Peace*: For which Reason, we can't have too much of that which really is Money, but we may very easily have too much of that which is not so." (p. 21.) On a preceding page he had shown, that "bank bills are not Money; for indeed nothing can be Money properly, and in the Law of *England*, but *Silver* or *Gold* (both which are of an Intrinsic and Universal Value) that has the Impress of the Prince, and made Current at a Rate or Value set by Act of *Parliament*, or Proclamation of the *Crown*." (p. 11.)

"The poorest Country-man in the Province is not convinced to this Day, but that *Silver*, tho' never so rough and unpolished, is preferable to the finest *Paper-Money* that ever was seen." (p.21.)

"If I am not mistaken, tho' I am no Merchant, the greatness of the Credit given in Trade has in a great Measure brought this want of Money upon us. I confess,

as to the Encouraging the Produce of our own Country, and our own Manufactures, the Exporting of our own Commodities we cannot well exceed; but if we Import from abroad, more than we can Pay for, by what we Produce ourselves, or Purchase from others with our own Commodities, we shall unavoidably grow Poor, and a Million of *Paper-Money* won't help the matter at all:" etc. (p. 23.)

The private-bank project was for the time defeated by a measure adopted by the General Court, virtually establishing a *public* bank. A new emission of bills of credit was authorized, to the amount of 50,000 pounds, to be loaned for five years to inhabitants of the Province, on mortgages of land, at five per cent. interest,<sup>1</sup> one fifth of the principal to be repaid annually. This measure was carried through the House of Representatives by the anti-private-bank party, with the help of the "very small" party "which was for drawing in the paper-bills and depending upon a silver and gold currency." It gave temporary relief to the merchants and to landed proprietors, but, says Hutchinson,<sup>2</sup> "it increased the zeal and raised a strong resentment, in those which remained."<sup>3</sup> In December, 1715, a special town-meeting was called in Boston, "to debate and declare whether they are for a Publick or Private Bank," and (Dec. 12th) the meeting having by vote adjourned from the Town House to "the Brick meeting House in Corn hill, for the conveniency of more room there"—"after about two hours debate in order to know the minds of the Inhabitants"—"it being put to Vote, whether it be the opinion of the Inhabitants, that it is best for the said Town to endeavour that a Publick Bank be promoted, Voted in the affirmative:" and, "It being put to Vote, whether it

<sup>1</sup> The projectors of the private bank proposed to loan their bills at *four* per cent. interest: but in their amended scheme, they raised the rate of interest to five per cent., and required security by mortgage of real estate to the full amount of the bills issued. At this time, borrowers "*willingly gave six per cent.*" for the loan of Province bills of credit. — Paul Dudley's "Objections to the Bank of Credit," etc., 1714, pp. 18, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Hutchinson, II., p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Id., II., 209.

be the Opinion of the Inhabitants, that it is best for the said Town to endeavour a Private Bank be promoted, Voted in the Negative." (*Town Records.*)

Another emission of "loan money," as it was called, was made in 1716.<sup>1</sup> Yet a writer in 1719 states that "notwithstanding the promptness with which government had resisted the late projected bank of individuals, its notes or bills are still in circulation."<sup>2</sup>

Of the many anonymous pamphlets relating to the currency that were printed in the next decade, one (a copy of which is in the library of our Society) deserves special notice, as the work of one of the most remarkable men of his generation—who "for talents, piety, and learning, shone as a star of the first magnitude." It is entitled:—

"A Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country. Or the Bank of Credit Erected in the Massachusetts-Bay, Fairly Defended by a Discovery of the Great Benefit, accruing by it to the whole Province; With a Remedy for Recovering a Civil State when Sinking under Desperation by a Defeat on their *Bank of Credit*. By AMICUS PATRIÆ . . . Boston: Printed in the Year, 1721." 16mo. pp. (4), 58.

That this "Word of Comfort" was spoken by the wise and witty minister of Chebacco (now Essex), the Rev. John Wise, there can be no reasonable doubt. It was recognized as his by his contemporaries, and he did not disavow the authorship: though it is not included in any published list of his writings.<sup>3</sup> John Wise (said our associate, the Rev. Dr. Dexter, in his eloquent address at Essex,<sup>4</sup> last year,) "was the first logical and clear-headed American democrat. Half a century before Thomas Jefferson, with irresistible logic and almost unmatched magnificence of style, he laid down the everlasting principles of democracy

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson, II., 217; Felt, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Felt, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> See Note F.

<sup>4</sup> "Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Congregational Church and Parish in Essex." (Salem, 1884), p. 123.



for both civil and ecclesiastical affairs." In 1721, under the administration of Governor Shute, the paper-money party was identified with the popular or "liberal" party, and John Wise was, emphatically, the advocate of the rights and privileges of the people. But "non omnia possumus omnes;" and in the mysteries of finance, the good minister of Chebacco groped as darkly as others of his generation. His arguments in favor of fiat paper-money—whether in the shape of bills of credit or bills of a private bank—may not seem of great force: but they were urged with such fulness of conviction, and with so much of the "racy and dainty humor" that characterized the author of "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused," that they will amply repay perusal, and warrant a few extracts in this place.

In his dedication of the pamphlet "to the Merchants in Boston"—whom he "considered as holding the Helm, or as being Principal Steers-men in the Common Affairs of Temporal Interest and Profit"—he tells them that "if the present Tender finds Acceptance with [them] selves, then [their] Colleague and Brother, in Great and Profitable Effects, the Farmer, will (I doubt not) receive it as Merchantable Ware," etc.

"I do imagine; that as Merchants & Farmers, are the Grand Pillars of the Flourishing State of this Common Wealth, so being joyned together are the *Atlas* which bears up the Great Globe of our Temporal Business: But without a *Medium* you place your feet on a Vacuum; or your Standing is but upon fluid Air. Therefore I must needs think our Legislators will, by their powerful *Fiat*, upon your joynt Intercessions, form a sufficient Basis for you; that you may stand Strong, Steady & Firm, with the Stupendous Load on your Shoulders; for if you Slump and Plunge, we all sink with you."

The safeguard, he believes, "must be a Sufficient *Bank of Credit*, under their own [the General Assembly's] immediate management; or resigned to your selves" [i. e.

a private bank] “in hands of particular Gentlemen of known Integrity and Estates.” (p. 3).

A “sufficient Medium of Trade” must be had to support trade and commerce: “without a *Medium*, all things will Jumble, Run Retrograde, and Tumble into Chaos:” but—he argues (under his third Proposition, p. 5):—

1. A Medium of Trade need not be Costly, if it be but Convenient and Safe.

2. The more Cost and Intrinsic Worth a Medium carries with it, or the more Valuable it is in itself, the less useful it will be in supporting an Universal Trade and Commerce. . . . 1. The *Money* Medium from its costly and valuable nature, is very inconstant, unfixt and volatile. . . . 2. The *Money* Medium is not only Good Merchandize; but being of so durable and rich a nature, it is a very fine Estate for the Wise and Fortunate to secure amongst their intended Bequestments for the next Age. To lay up Gold as the Dust, and the Gold of Ophir as the Stones of the Brook, seems a Promise annexed to that Rule of Duty whereby Parents are obliged to lay up for their Children. . . . Men are very loth to part with this charming Specie. And tho’ it may go from them with less pain than when their Skin is stript from their Fingers, yet it comes away with much aversion. For of this Specie it may be said, *Sui Nimum Tenax*.” (p. 6.)

Carefully distinguishing, throughout, a “*paper* medium” from a “*money* medium,” he asserts,

“Prop. IV. This Province can create for themselves a Sufficient Medium, that shall answer all Points of Business and Profit, better than Money: and that by a Publick or Private Bank of Credit; and either of them will do under the Influence, Patronage, Sanctions, & Awe of the Government.”

“As to the *Money* Medium, it seems altogether in vain for us to expect it, or make any Projections concerning it. Were it a better Medium of Trade than really it is, we have not the matter of it in our own Country, and our present Capacity denies us of it. . . . And as for what we had, it was rather the means of our Oppression,

than of our Prosperity, when it was in use and fashion: But however, and finally, when we have been Masters of a small Stock, not near a sufficiency to supply our Trade, &c. as has been said; yet then, the Trading Part of Men have made it Merchandize and Shipt it off: And we find it like the Animals going into the Lyon's Den, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*; there's none comes back, &c." (p. 8.)

"The Paper Medium is the Medium which we must depend upon;" and he goes on to show "what it has done [for us] since it has been Projected by the Wisdom of our Legislature." It has enabled us to "support and maintain a chargeable Government in Church and State, without grumbling:" and

"I would speak of one particular Example further, in our carryings on, and that is with respect to our *College*. Oh what Begging, and Contributing was there; even from every poor Girl and Boy that had but a Penny to part with to a Beggar, to bring Venerable *Harvard* into its first Brick! But now Alas! at a word's speaking up goes another<sup>1</sup> Parallel with that, and we hear nothing of Begging, or of any Groans in its Birth. Oh Dear Country! These Bills are of a very impregnable Nature, they will beget and bring forth whatsoever you shall please to fancy. For do but fancy or wish a Noble Fort in any of your frontiers; set the Bills to work, and up it goes in a Trice. Or if you have a Mind to Cultivate your Vast Woods to the North, or North-West, the Bills will do it as effectually as ever King of England subdued the Old *Britains* by chopping down theirs.

But in one word more, as to our *College*, Do but compute the Classes of that Famous Society, for the last Thirty Years, which is the run of our Bills [since the first issue, in 1690]; And our *Alma Mater*, (if we infer from her fair and numerous Offspring) seems apparently to have renewed her Youth, and grown Younger and Younger. Sometimes we were wont to have One, and sometimes Two, or Three, at a birth, with abundance of groans to bring them forth; and in some Years nothing but Dead Embrios, or Abortions; so poor and insufficient was the Seminal

<sup>1</sup> Stoughton Hall, erected by Lieut. Governor William Stoughton, 1699.

Matter and Flames of our State, viz. Our *Medium*. . . . But of late our Dear Mother brings forth Thirty or Forty at a Birth; and escapes not a Season, but makes a great Addition Yearly to her Numbers; That if you crush our Medium, you will Abate her strength, and thereby suppress her fertile and noble Conception; for apparently this is the means that has awakened her Genial Powers."

He calls attention to "the flourishing State that our Country is now in," "notwithstanding all our Grand expences, vast Consumptions, horrid Wastes and Depredations:"

"Now Gentlemen! These things in an eminent degree, are all under God and Nature, owing to our Bills. Nay! Look but into *Boston*, (if you knew it but Twenty Years ago) you will find an invincible Plea under this Head. Pray now! How came that Famous Emporium, the Mistress of our Towns, to rise as a Phœnix, out of her own Ashes,<sup>1</sup> so suddenly, and in greater Glory than ever? And Rear up such an *Exchange*<sup>2</sup> for the Seat of Government and Congress of Merchants; so costly and so fair, as it need not blush to shew its face with most in *Europe* of that kind? These things with a Thousand others of Moment, are peculiarly owing to our Bills. For again, was it our *Gold* and *Silver* that has created such a stupendous Appearance of useful and costly *Store-Houses* on the *Long-Wharffe* in *Boston*? Consider the Foundation and Superstructure; and also how stocked with all valuable and useful Commodities, from all parts of the World, from Year to Year! Why as to Means, next to the Wisdom, good Husbandry, Courage, Brave and Prudent Conduct of our venturesome Merchants, all is to be attributed to our *Bills of Credit*." (pp. 15, 16.)

His answer to the "puzling Question," "How shall we keep up the value of our Bills of Publick Credit?" is characteristic:<sup>3</sup>

"Gentlemen! You must do by your Bills, as all Wise Men do by their Wives; Make the best of them. It is an

<sup>1</sup> The "Great Fire" of (Oct. 2) 1711.

<sup>2</sup> The new Town-House was completed in 1714.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph was quoted by Mr. Palne, in the Report of the Council, April, 1866.

acknowledged Theorem, that there is no doing without Wives. The Lonesome and sower Phylosopher would frankly confess that Women were necessary Evils. . . . The great Skill is to cultivate the necessity and make it a Happiness; for that end, Wise Men Love their Wives; and what ill-conveniences they find in them they bury; and what Vertues they are inrich't with they Admire and Magnifie. And thus you must do by your Bills for there is no doing without them; if you Divorce or Disseize yourselves of them you are undone; Therefore you must set them high in your Estimation; and be no ways Prodigal of their Reputation, so as to vilify or run them down; as tho' they had more mischief than Good in them." (pp. 29, 30.)

He suggests that the Bills "might be instrumental for the Increase of the Numbers of our Towns and People,"—that the settlement of new towns "will invite our good Brethren out of *North-Britain* and *Ireland*, who will bring with them equal Religion with us; but a Superior Ingenuity and Skill in *Manufactures*;" and as a consequence,

"We may expect that *Manufactures* will go on amain in our Country . . . To pretend to *Manufactures*, without a great Overplus (to our Husbandry) in our Number of People, is but to talk Chymæras. And tho' now in our present Capacity, all good Householders do what they can, for Ordinary wear for a Family, to rub along with thro' much hard Labour, and Cold Winters; and so in the run of the Year we, after a Fashion, make up our Produce of Wool, &c., But this is nothing like Manufacturing the Effects of a large Country for a Foreign Vend." &c. (p. 27.)

That the country was drained of silver by the excessive importations of English goods, so that "there is not a Shilling to be seen or heard of in ordinary Commerce or Conversation," did not trouble him. He accepted the fact that "we have no Money at all; and if we get it we can't keep it, in our present Capacity." He had no sympathy with those who urged diminished expenditures, stricter economy in the household, and non-importation of "fineries" and superfluities. We were "not only a dependent

Government in our Civil relation to the Crown of England ; but also, in some degree, a dependent *Merchandize* on the same Kingdom :”

“ Therefore Men may talk of shortening our *British* trade, whilst they are weary ; and upbraid us with our Finery, &c., which are theams more proper for Pulpits than Statesmen to talk of [for what were Ingenious Mysteries & Inventions dignified for with Lawrels? For working wood, iron, brass, leather, &c. into fine Coaches and Chariots, and Horses as fine and proud as they, suited to them ; why were these made, &c. ? and turning glittering earth, and glutinous matter of worms, into Embroideries, &c. but to furnish a Generous People, that would banish sordiness, and live bright and civil, with fine Accomplishments about them ?] Therefore, I say, if we will live upon Ground-Nuts and Clams, and clouth our backs with the Exuviae, or Pelts of Wild Beasts, we may then lower our Expences a great pace, and renounce this branch of our Merchandize ; but if we intend to live in any garb, or port, as becomes a people of Religion, Civility, Trade, and Industry, then we must still supply ourselves from the Great Fountain.” (pp. 37, 38.)

In conclusion, he discusses, very impartially, the comparative advantages of public and private banks : finally giving preference to the latter ( “ under the inspection of the Government ” ) as the most certain “ cure of all diseases relating to Trade and Commerce which we groan under.”

These desultory notes on the first chapters of the history of banking and paper-money in New-England must be suspended here. The subsequent chapters have been largely written by Dr. Felt, and clearly outlined by our associate, Mr. Paine, in the Report of the Council for April, 1866, to which so frequent reference has been made in these pages.

In behalf of the Council,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.  
SAMUEL S. GREEN.

## NOTES.

## A. (p. 273.)

In 1664 or 1665 an "Office of Credit" was opened by an association in London. Its purpose—like that of which the plan was submitted by Winthrop to the Royal Society—was to provide "a way of trade and bank without money." Nearly all that is known of it is found in a pamphlet entitled,—

"A Description of the OFFICE of CREDIT; By the use of which, none can possibly [*sic*] sustain Loss, but every man may certainly receive great GAIN and WEALTH. With a plain Demonstration [*sic*], How a man may Trade for Six times his Stock, and never be Trusted; and that (if generally received) there can afterwards no Accident happen to cause a Deadness or Slowness of Trade, except Warrs, nor need any man make any more bad Debts. With Divers other publick and palvate [*sic*] conveniences and profits: As also *Objections* hitherto made against it, largely and fully Answered. London, Printed by the order of the Society, for Thomas Rooks, 1665." (4to. 2 prelim. leaves, pp. 28, 1.)

This pamphlet seems to be rare, and hitherto to have escaped the notice of special bibliographers. The only copy we can trace is in the Watkinson Library at Hartford.

"The definition of the Office" is given in the first chapter. It "is neither Bank nor Lumbard, and yet, in effect, is both united. It is neither Bank nor Lumbard because the foundation of Credit in Bank is *Money*, and here 'tis Goods and Merchandize. And for goods received in a Lumbard, they deliver out *Money*, and here *Credit*; and yet it is like both . . . It is a general *Storehouse*, receiving all parties Goods, and delivering out their Tickets, if desired, as it is, at this day, practised in *Virginia*, *Barbadoes*, and other Plantations where the Planters bring in their *Tobacco* and *Sugar* to the Storehouses (in the absence of Ships) and receive a Note, (there being no Money,) from the *Storekeeper*; who is but a private person, and with that note as far as the Storekeeper is known, can they purchase any other Commodity."

In Chapter 8, the author "endeavoured to remove two vulgar errors: 1, That Credit in Bank is only current because men can have Money when they will: 2. That without Money no Trade can be managed."

The "vulgar error"—as it was regarded by projectors in the 17th century—that "credit in bank is only current because men can have money when they will," is not yet eradicated.

The plan of the "Office of Credit" of 1665, and the exposition of its advantages, are noticed here only because of their probable connection with the projects of Potter and Winthrop, and with the first essays at banking in Massachusetts.

## B. (p. 284.)

"Corn-money," if not strictly a "legal tender," had been received for payment of rates, in Massachusetts, as well as in Connecticut. A statement of the funds in the Massachusetts treasury, Jan. 1, 1683, shows,

"Corn remaining unsold,	-	-	-	-	-	£ 938. 11. 1
Money,	-	-	-	-	-	1,340. 10. 3."

In 1687, during the Usurpation, "the spirit of accommodation was carried so far, as to permit the public demand on Hingham to be paid in *milk pails*.—Felt, 47, 48.

## C. (p. 285.)

This statement, in 1697, that the bills of credit were "printed from copper-plates," is conclusive. The act of the General Court, Dec. 10, 1690, directs the committee therein named, to grant forth "*printed bills in such form as is agreed upon by this Court*," etc.; and when a second emission was ordered, Feb. 3, 1690-91, the committee was authorized to "*print and give forth*" bills, etc. Drake (Hist. of Boston, 491-2) describes a bill of this *second* emission, as "*struck from an engraved plate*." A facsimile of a bill of the *first* issue, Dec. 1690, "written with a pen, not engraved," has been published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1863, p. 428); and, as Mr. Paine suggests, it "bears such marks of being genuine, that we are led to suppose it was one of the first issued, and, in the anxiety of the government to pay off the troops at once, that the bills"—some of them at least—"were written, not engraved": though the issue of written bills was not authorized by the General Court.

## D. (p. 289.)

In June, 1733, Nathaniel Mors of Boston contracted with the Governor and Council of Connecticut, "to engrave a set of plates, . . . viz<sup>t</sup> a Five pound plate, a Fortie Shillings plate, a Twentie Shillings plate, a Five Shillings plate, a Three Shillings plate, a Two Shillings and Six pence plate, and a Two Shillings plate;" to be delivered to Samuel Checkley, Esq., of Boston: and to be finished in six weeks. He was to be paid five pounds in advance and fifty-five pounds more on delivery. (MS. Agreement, in Library of Conn. Hist. Society.) This is the earliest mention known to the writer, of the name of an engraver of Connecticut bills.

[An edition of the Rev. Matthew Henry's "The Communicant's Companion," printed in Boston in 1731, has a portrait of the author, engraved on copper by N. Mors.]

An emission of 30,000 pounds in bills of credit, was ordered by the General Assembly in February, 1733, chiefly to provide for the withdrawal of bills of "The New London Society United for Trade and Commerce in Connecticut," by loans from the Treasury to enable mortgagors to that Society, to satisfy their indebtedness. By an act passed at the next (May) Session, the committee appointed to sign these bills were authorized to loan 15,000 pounds to the mortgagors aforesaid, and the remaining 15,000 pounds to other parties, on mortgage of land, at six per cent. interest, payable annually, and the principal to be paid May 1, 1741. (Conn. Col. Rec., vii., 422, 453).

Another emission of "loan money" (as it was called) was ordered at the same session of the General Court, 20,000 pounds, "to be denominated and to be in number as our former plates are, but yet with suitable distinctions," and "of the tenour of our former bills of credit," but "to be done on *new plates*." (Id., 462.) The contract with Nathaniel Mors was for engraving these plates.

May, 1740, an emission of 30,000 pounds of a "new tenour" was ordered, (Col. Rec., viii., 318-321): 8,000 for the payment of Colony debts and charges, and 22,000 pounds to be loaned in sums of from 25 to 100 pounds, on land security, or bonds for silver, payable half in four and half in eight years, at



three per cent. interest. The form of these "new tenour" bills was to be as follows:—

"No. ( ) This Bill by a Law of the Colony of Connecticut shall pass current within the same for Twenty Shillings in Value equal to Silver at Eight Shillings per Ounce, Troy weight, Sterling Alloy, in all Payments, and in the Treasury. Hartford, May 8th, 1740.

A. }  
B. } Committee."  
C. }

"and so, *mutatis mutandis*, for greater or lesser value."

This "new tenour" bill was—as the "old tenour" had *not* been—made a *legal tender* for private debts as well as for payments to the Treasurer on account of taxes, etc. The act of May, 1740 (Conn. Rec., viii., 321) made them current "In all payments *and* in the treasury . . . (excepting for the discharge of former contracts by *specialty for silver only* and the bonds to be given to this Colony for the interest of this emission." etc. But in the following November, after receipt of a Letter from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the General Court repealed so much of that act as made it "obligatory on all persons to take the said bills in payment of debts, dues, and demands" (striking out the words italicized above), and ordering the bills to be made conformable thereto. The particle *and* (after *all Payments*) was crossed out by black lines, and in later emissions was effaced from the plates, three dots occupying the space.

At each emission of this "loan money," a new date was added to the plate. One, signed by George Wyllis, John Chester, and Wm. Pitkin, Committee, has the dates May 10th, 1744, Oct. 11th, 1744, and March 14th, 1744-5.

#### E. (p. 289.)

"A Model For Erecting a Bank of Credit: With a Discourse in Explanation thereof. Adapted to the Use of any Trading Country, where there is a Scarcity of Moneys: More especially for his Majesties Plantations in America. *Quod Communius ed melius*. Printed by J. A. for Thomas Cockeril . . . 1688." Sm. 8vo, Title and pp. 1-38.

The "Model" ends on page 30, with "*De te narratur N. A.*" [*Nova Anglia?*], and "Finis." "A Supplement or Appendix to the Treatise," etc., follows, on pp. 31-38. On page 1, is a half-title, as follows: "A Model for Erecting a Bank of Credit Lumbard and Exchange of Moneys, founded on Lands, Goods, and Merchandizes: To be undertaken and managed by Persons of good Reputation, Prudence, and Estates, in a voluntary Partnership, as other Merchantly Affairs," etc. The "Model" submitted by John Blackwell and his associates in 1686, to the President and Council of Massachusetts, was for "the erecting and managing a Bank of Credit Lumbard and Exchange of Moneys, by Persons of approved integrity, prudence, and estates," etc. (Mass. Archives, 'Usurpation,' Vol. I., p. 104). Comparison of the words here italicized seems to show that the "Model" of 1688 had been printed in an earlier edition or had been communicated in manuscript to Mr. Blackwell and "his participants in England and in this Country," in 1686.

Hutchinson says that the projectors of a private bank, in 1714, "had taken up a project published in London in the year 1684." The London pamphlet of 1688 may have been a reprint or a re-issue of one of 1684, with a new title-leaf prefixed and the "Supplement" added. This Supplement was omitted in the Boston reprint of 1714.

F. (p. 293.)

The proof that John Wise was the author of this pamphlet was briefly stated in the notes to the Brinley Library Catalogue (Part I.) Nos. 1442-1444. A communication, dated, "N. E., Castle William, February, 1720-21," to the Boston Gazette of Feb. 20, imputed to "*Amicus Patriæ*"—whom the writer characterized as a "*Worldly Wise Man*"—interested motives for advocating a larger emission of paper-money. To this article "*Amicus Patriæ*" replied in a tractlet (of seven pages,) "*A Friendly Check, from a Kind Relation, to the Chief Cannoneer,*" etc, with "*a Letter from Amicus Patriæ, to his Son, Feb. 23. 1720-21.*" An "*Advertisement,*" appended to "*A Letter to an Eminent Clergyman in Massachusetts-Bay,*" published the same week, mentions the article in the Gazette, as "*an attempt to stain the unblemished reputation of a Worthy Gentleman, and a hearty Friend to his Country;*" and the author of a third pamphlet, "*A Letter from a Gentleman in Mount Hope, to his Friend in Treamount,*" dated Feb. 27, notices the "*infamous advertisement*" in the Gazette, "*in which the Shameless Author takes upon him . . . to ill-treat and villify a Reverend and Worthy Gentleman, whom we ever deemed a true and faithful Friend to his Country; and who shew'd himself to be such an One, some Years past, . . . and because he stood up for the Laws and Rights of his Country, he was sent to Gaol, and Suspended from his Ministry, fined Fifty Pounds, paid Cost, and gave £1000 Security for his good Behaviour,*" etc. The allusion to the prosecution of Mr. Wise for refusing payment of the province-tax imposed by Andros, is obvious.

A former owner of Mr. Brinley's copy of "*A Word of Comfort*" had marked it, in a handwriting of the last century, as "*by Mr. Wise, of Chebacco.*"

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

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THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report for the six months ending October 17, 1884.

By the legacy of our late honored President, the Librarian's and General, and the Publishing Funds will soon be placed in a condition to supply the long-needed wants of these two departments.

The increase of the Publishing Fund will enable the Society not only to print without over-drawing its income, but it is hoped will also warrant the publication from time to time of some of the valuable manuscript material in its archives.

From the detailed statement of the several funds herewith submitted, it will be seen that the Bookbinding Fund has been reduced nearly three hundred dollars during the past six months. This is owing to the unusually large number of newspapers and periodicals that have been bound, and suggests either an increase in the fund, or a decided reduction in the amount of our periodical matter sent to the binder.

There having been some discussion in the Council as to the exact nature of the Lincoln Legacy Fund and the disposition of its income, our associate, Judge Aldrich, has copied from the will of Gov. Lincoln that portion of it relating to this Society, and it is given here as a source of information to our members, and that it may be readily referred to hereafter.

The extract is as follows: "I give and bequeath to the American Antiquarian Society, a corporation established by

law in the city of Worcester, the sum of one thousand dollars, to be held by said Society as a perpetual fund in trust, that the interest thereof shall annually be offered as a premium for an original essay or address on some subject connected with or explanatory of the objects of the Society, to be proposed by the Council and to be read or delivered before the Society at its annual meeting. And if for any cause the interest in any year shall fail to be required in compensation for such essay or address, it shall be added to the principal to augment the fund, the interest of which shall be applied in the manner before appointed in subsequent years. \* \* \* \* It is not intended hereby to require a competition in the production of the essay or address, but with the selection of the subject to submit to the Council, the manner in which, and the persons by whom, from time to time, it shall be offered."

As will be shown by this report, the fund now amounts to over two thousand dollars, yielding an income large enough, it would seem, to warrant the Council in making the disposition of it set forth by the terms of the legacy, and as was the probable intention of the testator.

The following statement shows the receipts and expenditures for the past six months, and the condition of the various funds.

STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

*The Librarian's and General Fund.*

1884, April 19.	Balance,.....	\$30,853.22	
" Oct. 17.	Received from income of investments to date, .....	792.75	
" " "	Received for Life Assessment,.....	50.00	
" " "	" " Annual Assessments,.....	205.00	
		<hr/>	\$31,900.97
Oct. 17.	Paid salaries and incidental expenses,.....	\$1,128.19	
" "	Paid premium on Bank Stock, 106.00	<hr/>	\$1,234.19
" "	Present amount of the fund,.....		<hr/> \$30,666.78

*Invested in*

Bank Stock,.....	\$9,600.00
Railroad Stock,.....	2,000.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	9,200.00
Worcester Gas Co. Stock,.....	500.00
Mortgage Notes, .....	9,300.00
Cash,.....	66.78
	<hr/>
	\$30,666.78

*The Collection and Research Fund.*

1884, April 19. Balance,.....	\$17,973.09
“ Oct. 17. Received from income on investments to date,.....	409.25
“ “ “ Received from books sold,.....	43.50
	<hr/>
	\$18,430.84
Paid part of salary of Librarian and Assistants.....	466.74
	<hr/>
1884, Oct. 17. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$17,964.10

*Invested in*

Bank Stock,.....	\$4,500.00
Railroad Stock,.....	5,200.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	3,000.00
Mortgage Notes, .....	5,150.00
Cash,.....	14.10
	<hr/>
	\$17,964.10

*The Bookbinding Fund.*

1884. April 19. Balance,.....	\$6,293.22
“ Oct. 17. Received from income of investments to date, .....	161.00
	<hr/>
	\$6,454.22
Paid for Binding, .....	343.75
	<hr/>
Oct. 17. Present amount of Fund,.....	\$6,110.47

*Invested in*

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,700.00
Railroad Stock,.....	800.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	2,600.00
Cash,.....	10.47
	<hr/>
	\$6,110.47

*The Publishing Fund.*

1884, April 19.	Balance,.....	\$8,572.32	
" Oct. 17.	Received from income of investments,..	241.00	
" " "	" for publications sold,.....	60.75	
" " "	" from the Tenney Fund,.....	125.00	
		<hr/>	
		\$8,999.07	
Oct. 17.	Paid for printing "Proceedings,".....	813.85	
" " "	Present amount of Fund,.....		\$8,685.22

*Invested in*

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,100.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	5,500.00
City Bond,.....	1,000.00
Cash,.....	85.22
	<hr/>
	\$8,685.22

*The Isaac Davis Book Fund.*

1884, April 19.	Balance,.....	\$1,569.99	
" Oct. 17.	Received from income of investments,	32.50	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,602.49	
	Paid for books,.....	27.09	
Oct. 17.	Present amount of Fund,.....		\$1,575.40

*Invested in*

Bank Stock,.....	\$700.00
Railroad Stock,.....	800.00
Cash,.....	75.40
	<hr/>
	\$1,575.40

*The Lincoln Legacy Fund.*

1884, April 19.	Balance,.....	\$2,090.65	
" Oct. 17.	Received from income of investments,..	60.00	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$2,150.65

*Invested in*

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,100.00
Cash,.....	50.65
	<hr/>
	\$2,150.65

*The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.*

1884, April 19.	Balance,.....	\$1,120.44	
" Oct. 17.	Income from investments to date,.....	35.00	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,155.44	
	Paid for local histories,.....	29.79	
Oct. 17.	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$1,125.65

*Invested in*

Railroad Bond, .....	\$1,000.00
Cash, .....	125.65
	<hr/>
	\$1,125 65

*The Alden Fund.*

1884, April 19. Balance, .....	\$1,175.00	
" Oct. 17. Income from investment to date, .....	85.00	
	<hr/>	
" " " Present amount of the Fund, .....		\$1,210.00

*Invested in*

Railroad Bond, .....	\$1,000.00
Bank Stock, .....	200.00
Cash, .....	10.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,210.00

*The Salisbury Building Fund.*

1884, April 19. Balance, .....	\$1,514.82	
" Oct. 17. Income from investment to date, .....	49.50	
	<hr/>	
" " " Present amount of Fund, .....		\$1,563.82

*Invested in*

Bank Stock, .....	\$ 500.00
Railroad Bond, .....	1,000.00
Cash, .....	63.82
	<hr/>
	\$1,563.82

*The Tenney Fund.*

1884, April 19. Balance, .....	\$5,000.00	
" Oct. 17. Income from investment since, .....	125.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,125.00	
Transferred to Publishing Fund, .....	125.00	
	<hr/>	
Oct. 17. Present amount of the Fund, .....		\$5,000.00

*Invested in*

Mortgage Notes, .....	\$5,000.00
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*The Haven Fund.*

1884, April 19. Balance, .....	\$1,081.80	
" Oct. 17. Interest to date, .....	21.41	
	<hr/>	
" " " Present amount of Fund (in Savings Bank), .....		\$1,103.21

*The George Chandler Fund.*

1884, April 19.	Balance,.....	\$ 500.00	
" Oct. 17.	Interest since,.....	5.00	
" " "	Chandler Genealogy sold, .....	18.00	
		<hr/>	
		\$523.00	
	Books purchased,.....	15.80	
		<hr/>	
Oct. 17.	Present amount of Fund, .....		\$507.70

*Invested in*

Savings Bank,.....	\$ 505.00
Cash,.....	2.70
	<hr/>
	\$507.70

Total of the twelve Funds, .....	<hr/> <hr/>	\$77,668.00
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*Cash on hand, included in the foregoing statement:*

Librarian's and General Fund, .....	\$ 66.78
Collection and Research Fund,.....	14.10
Bookbinding Fund, .....	10.47
Publishing Fund,.....	85.22
Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	75.40
Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	50.65
B. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	125.65
Alden Fund,.....	10.00
Salisbury Fund, .....	63.82
Chandler Fund, .....	2.70
	<hr/>
	\$504.79

Respectfully submitted,

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 18th, 1884.

*Report of the Auditors.*

WORCESTER, October 18, 1884.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the Report of the Treasurer, made up to October 17, 1884, and find the same to be correct, and properly vouched; that the securities held by him for the several funds are as stated, and that the balance of cash on hand is accounted for.

EDWARD L. DAVIS.  
CHARLES A. CHASE.



## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

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WHILE we must agree with the Christian philosophy expressed by our departed President, that "it is a wise and kind providence that one generation passeth away and another generation cometh," we cannot forget to-day, either the great loss this Society especially has sustained, or the exceeding great reward to which in a good old age after a faithful life he has so lovingly been called. Taught from early life to honor him, personal association for nearly twenty years in connection with the Society's growth in usefulness has not only increased your Librarian's respect, but has compelled a growing affection for him. The possession of his confidence has been a constant stimulant to duty and an incentive to improvement. Those morning half-hour chats with Dr. Haven at the library, seldom omitted for many years, cannot easily be forgotten by one who was permitted to overhear their wise but witty discourse. My election to membership in the Society in October, 1878, is pleasantly associated with the presentation of the Huntington portrait of President Salisbury and so with the fitting words of Dr. Green, Rev. Dr. Ellis and Vice-President Hoar, and Mr. Salisbury's modest reply. In connection therewith I shall venture to strengthen that tie by incorporating with this report a few paragraphs from Senator Hoar's truthful and helpful picture of the Good Steward. He said, "Mr. Salisbury has for many years filled in this community a most difficult position—that of a wise and useful manager of large inherited wealth. It is not a hard thing in this country for a man with honorable ambitions to raise himself from poverty to wealth. It

is comparatively easy to obtain the prizes of professional and political life. But it is a very difficult thing for a man born to the position of wealthiest man in a wealthy community to fill that important station wisely and usefully. Most men so situated deem themselves exonerated from the obligation to work. Our friend has done his full share of the personal labor of all public undertakings with as much fidelity and public spirit as if he had nothing but his labor to contribute. Many rich men fancy that their wealth entitles them to claim some superiority over their fellow-men. Mr. Salisbury has borne himself with such humility and simplicity that it has never occurred to the humblest man who knew him that they met otherwise than as neighbors and equals. It is said that men who contribute largely to public objects are not without the spirit of patronage or the desire to control. Mr. Salisbury has added to the large benefactions to which the success of almost every enterprise of education or charity in this community for a generation has been due—this society, that reading-room, the Technical School, the Mechanics Hall and countless others—the still larger benefaction of so limiting his gift that it has been a stimulant to other men to do their share. He has made us feel that it was not he but we that were accomplishing the purpose. He has almost seemed to think, when he contributed the endowment to a public object which ensured its success, that he was our debtor and not we his, and he has never demanded for his opinion in the administration of the enterprise even the weight to which it would be entitled independently of his share of its endowment." Recalling the closing words of Mr. Salisbury's felicitous response, how vividly he comes before us here where he said, "In the interest of our Society I must thank the eminent artist for the ingenuity and skill that he has exercised in this work of the imagination. In a few years the personal appearance of the individual will be forgotten. Then no one will

regret that a President of the Society has been portrayed as favorably as the subject would permit." It is pleasant to believe that a life such as we this day commemorate is endless even on earth in its far-reaching example and blessing, and to feel assured that in this life he knew how much we all loved and honored him.

Worcester—the city of this Society's birth and habitation—has lately honored herself and the Society by calling our President, the Hon. George F. Hoar, to speak for his adopted city on occasion of the celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the naming of the town. It hardly need be stated in this presence with what strength and beauty that duty was performed. We must not forget, however, that it was William Lincoln, the Historian of Worcester *par excellence*, who made it possible intelligently to celebrate the day, and that he was one of our number. But for his industry, energy, order, and good judgment it is quite unlikely that the invaluable mass of manuscript and printed material now in our possession would have been preserved. His History of Worcester, though published as early as 1837, ranks in accuracy and general excellence—like Shattuck's Concord, issued two years earlier—with the best local histories of to-day. Mr. Lincoln served as Librarian, 1825–1827, Corresponding Secretary, 1825–1831, Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, 1831–1841, Committee of Publication, 1827–1834 and 1837–1843. He needs from us no vindication as an historian. In point of fact the judgment of our Vice-President, Hon. John Davis, more than forty-one years ago, stands approved. It seems fitting that in Worcester's Bi-Centennial year a few passages from this just tribute to her historian and our Librarian and Secretary should be repeated before this national Society. Governor Davis said at the October meeting of 1843:—"Since our last semi-annual meeting we have lost another member by death, whose face we have been accustomed to see on these

occasions and who has almost uniformly for a series of years given us in one form or another the fruits of his gifted mind. William Lincoln, with whom in our joint labors we have been so long and so intimately associated that he seemed like a brother, will meet us no more in these mansions of earth. After a brief but painful sickness he sank into the arms of death, and his remains now repose in the Rural Cemetery in the spot selected and prepared by him for their reception. . . . At this time (in 1825), Mr. Lincoln commenced, probably with a view to its publication in the Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal, a history of the town of Worcester, but this work which was upon his hands for several years appeared in 1837, in an octavo of about 400 pages. It is executed with great ability throughout, and demanded a patient toil, a laborious investigation, which merit a fame greater than so limited a history can confer. . . . With diligence and scrutiny he examined every possible source of history, sparing no labor or expense in investigating town, county, State and proprietors' records, the ancient files of the provincial and colonial governments, and the papers of private individuals together with all printed matter which had the remotest tendency to elucidate the subject. Nothing was left to conjecture, nothing in uncertainty, but with a fidelity that is seldom surpassed he registered only such facts as were sustained by satisfactory evidence of their truth. This is the great merit of Mr. Lincoln as a historian and an antiquarian that his perceptions of truth were seldom blinded by a credulous indiscriminate respect for reminiscences and traditions. . . . In 1825 he became a member of this Society, and from that time till near the period of his death it is not easy to describe the value and importance of his services or the extent of his benevolence. He served us in the capacity of Librarian, Corresponding Secretary, and, after the Foreign and Domestic Correspondence were separated, as Secretary of Domestic

Correspondence and as a member of the Committee of Publication. In all these stations he discharged the duties assigned to him, which were often laborious, in a manner so honorable to himself and so useful to the Society as to confer upon it an obligation of gratitude which can never be cancelled. If the Society had been a pet child it could scarcely have commanded more of his attention or shared more of his sympathy and regard. Into whatever spot you enter within our territory there you find multiplied proofs of his friendship, his benevolence, his taste and of his personal labors. We who have sat at this board with him can bear testimony that in advancing our prosperity, no labor or personal sacrifice restrained his ardor or abated his zeal. His time, his mental energies, and often his pecuniary resources were expended to embellish the grounds, to increase and make more valuable the library, and to raise the association to that elevated rank among similar institutions which it has been our laudable ambition to attain. Of these varied, great and long-continued efforts to give lustre to the character of this Society, I hardly dare to speak in the simplest language of truth, lest I should subject myself to the imputation of extravagance. But no law of prudence forbids that we should be grateful, or denies to us the right to express our sorrow at the loss of so distinguished a benefactor, or to cherish his memory with hallowed feelings of respect. Few men possess the learning or the ability to accomplish as much as has been done by Mr. Lincoln, and among the many able and distinguished persons who have honored and adorned this Society, with perhaps a single exception, he stands out in bold relief, surpassing all others in benevolence and assiduity."

Next to our town histories and genealogies, our newspapers have as usual been most freely used, in the presidential year bringing many to consult the files in the interest of their favorite candidates, as well as students

of history. It is always a pleasant duty to furnish facts to searchers after truth. The president of one of our western colleges recently remarked, after comparing his manuscript which contained certain traditions and statements of the oldest inhabitants with the dates positively fixed by our Ohio newspapers of the period, that both tradition and personal recollection were to say the least a few years out of the way.

The careful cutting of all our uncut books has recently been begun by Mr. Salisbury's office clerk, Mr. Riordan. Although exactly what constitutes an uncut book may still be an open question, it is certainly desirable to be able quickly to get inside and thus save time for examination, at the same time insuring the books from injury by the use of the finger or the penknife. A Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Books may yet be called for. The collating of some of our rarer books is a work to which we hope to devote some time in the near future.

We cannot help feeling that the possession of the Index so generously prepared by Mr. Salisbury, would so suggest the value of the first series of Proceedings as to induce our members to order more or less of them. An occasional Index order has been received from some one living near a library centre who desired in his own study to note the authorities to be consulted. Such indexes have been useful here even when none of the periodicals indexed were upon our shelves. They sometimes declare a want, as for instance in the case of our Princeton Review which was supplied to 1876 by Vice-President Lenox.

The Card Catalogue is naturally more and more useful as the work goes forward toward completion. Its possession makes us more earnestly desire an index or card catalogue of our manuscripts, a need which the Library Committee has had constantly in mind. The income of the Alden Fund is to be used for this purpose. It is not

only well that we now have so many librarians who are guides, but that we also have so many time and labor-saving indexes to our treasures. The remark occasionally heard in the library to the effect that, had I known these helps and collections were here I could have saved hundreds of dollars and hundreds of miles travel,—suggests that we should not only let our wants be known but our possessions as well. Thus some of the former might be supplied by the users of the latter.

We have been glad to be able to assist Mr. Charles F. Hildeburn, of Philadelphia, in his effort to make bibliographically complete a list of Pennsylvania imprints of the first fifty years, upon which he has spent a large amount of time and money both in England and America. It should be more generally known that the manuscript titles in the Thomas-Haven List of Ante-Revolutionary Publications are often much more extended than they appear upon the printed page, and so are not infrequently examined with profit. Our McCullough's manuscript account of early printing in Pennsylvania, from which some important facts were drawn by Isaiah Thomas for his History of Printing, was also helpful in this direction. It seems not improbable that the day may come when "the eternal fitness of things" will induce learned societies to exchange for publication even original manuscript material. Our wealth of early imprints gives us many opportunities to furnish copies of titles and other missing pages. The title page of the first Bible printed in Philadelphia has just been reproduced with wonderful exactness for the library of the late Bishop Whittingham of Baltimore, recently bequeathed by him to the diocese of Maryland. A gift of duplicate literature relating to the Protestant Episcopal Church has been made since the last meeting to the energetic Registrar of the Diocese of Massachusetts, Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, through whom it will be sure to do the greatest possible amount of good. Our exchanges have been smaller,

though not less satisfactory, than usual, while our cash sales show a decided increase. In the former department we have, for instance, exchanged duplicate Massachusetts Agricultural Reports—received from our Recording Secretary Ex-Senator Washburn and others,—for recent authorities in Peruvian antiquities, etc. In the latter, with other sales, the few remaining extra copies of the Boston News Letter have been wisely secured for the Boston Public Library. It was especially pleasing to be able to add to the *Leicesteriana* of the Town Library, just before the Leicester Academy Centennial Celebration, Rev. Dr. Bancroft's oration at the dedication of the new academy building in 1806, with Rev. Dr. Sumner's introductory remarks, which pamphlet, strange as it may seem, had not there been preserved.

The Lechford Note Book—received by Samuel Jennison, Esq., of Boston, from his father, Samuel Jennison, Esq., for many years Librarian and Treasurer of this Society—is passing through the press under the editorial charge of Mr. Edward E. Hale, jr., and the supervision of his father. Many years since it was copied in part and annotated in part by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, and in 1880 the remainder of the obscure manuscript was faithfully copied by Mr. Reuben Colton, at the expense of Hon. Dwight Foster. If the expense of printing etc., can be met by the Society or by some liberal members of it, we may certainly be congratulated in advance of its publication upon the prospect of so useful and unique a work for our Transactions, volume seven.

It will be noticed that the specimens of early printing in our show cases have been re-arranged, and that some of the earlier and rarer books obtained from the Joseph J. Cooke Library have displaced a few of the later and less rare volumes. This safe and satisfactory method of showing some of our nuggets,—said to have been introduced into this country from the British Museum by



our Ex-Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, the Hon. Charles Sumner,—has served an admirable purpose in showing our desire to secure and carefully guard such treasures.

It may be well to preserve in print an interesting pencilling by Dr. Haven on early American imprints, found on the fly leaf of volume one of our interleaved catalogue. It reads as follows: "In looking over the Catalogue which was not interleaved, Mr. Brinley found one hundred and eighty-six works printed in this Country before 1700. He thinks there were not more than three hundred printed, and this library contains a far larger proportion than any other. Mr. Brinley has made this matter a subject of investigation." It should be added that through the efforts of Messrs. James Lenox, John Carter Brown and George Brinley, many other titles were brought to light, so that the Thomas-Haven pre-revolutionary list includes four hundred and eighty-one seventeenth century titles, counting almanacs and various editions of the same work. Our additions to this class, both before and since the sale of the Brinley Library from which we obtained such early rarities, have been considerable, and we may reasonably expect others.

The list of books catalogued and shelf-marked but not found, has with one exception been checked off, partly by the aid of our Card Catalogue. The exceptional case is in the hands of our President, and will receive the attention it deserves. The missing volume in the case referred to having been traced and clearly identified, it would seem that both for our own protection, as well as for that of kindred societies, legal steps to decide its ownership should be taken if moral suasion fails. It was a wise and liberal member of this society—a firm believer in and supplier of safeguards—who said, "Other things being equal my gifts will be placed where they will not only best but longest serve their purpose." There is a

lesson which should not be forgotten in the following paragraph from a report in the *Library Journal* of the past summer: "Of four hundred and seventy-one volumes missing no less than four hundred and two have disappeared from the cases of new books, novels and reference books, which are freely open to our readers and with reference to which the library is protected by nothing but their honesty." While the Librarian's experience meetings, held from year to year since 1876, have been productive of great good, it must be remembered that we best subserve each other's interests by constant, faithful and vigilant care of our own.

As in the deaths of Messrs. Trübner and Leyppoldt, so in the more recent decease of their brother publisher, Mr. Henry George Bohn, librarians would join the world of letters in expressions of respect and regret. Our sets of Bohn's *Antiquarian*, *Classical*, *Illustrated*, *Scientific* and *Standard Libraries*, though incomplete, are constant reminders of this model publisher.

The six months' accessions from April 15th are as follows: By gift, five hundred and thirty-eight books, thirty-six hundred and thirty-three pamphlets, one hundred and five volumes of unbound newspapers, thirty-seven volumes of manuscript letters, thirty-nine maps, four photographs, three Japanese tiles, two portraits and one pistol. By exchange, one hundred and ten books, and two hundred and sixty-nine pamphlets. From the binder, eighty-six volumes of magazines and one hundred and seventy-two volumes of newspapers. Total, seven hundred and thirty-four books, thirty-nine hundred and two pamphlets, one hundred and seventy-two bound and one hundred and five unbound volumes of newspapers, thirty-seven volumes of manuscript letters and other articles for the Society's portfolios and cabinet. The Thomas, Davis and Chandler funds have yielded thirty, eighteen, and ten valuable volumes respectively, and we

are grateful both to the dead and the living for the careful additions which these funds have allowed us to make to these very important but nevertheless very incomplete departments of American history. Mr. Robert Clarke who, like the lamented Munsell, is often ready to print American history, especially that pertaining to his own section, without the prospect of an adequate pecuniary return, has given with rebellion material, Durrett's Life and Writings of John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky, with an extra copy of Filson's map of the State. We have for many years been in search of this map so conspicuously promised upon the title page of the original edition of his "Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke," and generally thought not to exist. It seemed clear to us that it had been issued, since in our copy of Parraud's French translation there is a finely engraved map which is said to have been copied from it. While the book was printed by Adams of Wilmington in 1784, the map was engraved by Pursell and printed by Rook, both of Philadelphia, the same year. Hon. Samuel A. Green, who is always in search of something to make our collections more complete, has this time, with other favors, aided us in filling some gaps in Massachusetts State documents and the various magazines of Harvard College. Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington, in retiring from the Council in consequence of his removal to New York, has placed in the library a large collection of the literature of the American Episcopal Church, a field in which both he and our associate, Bishop Perry of Iowa, have been very useful to us.

Mr. Henry S. Nourse sends as his first gift after election to membership, "The Early Records of Lancaster, Massachusetts, from 1643 to 1725," a work of which in his labor of love he is much more than the "editor." He has added valuable material to the Records and an index, which latter help is singularly enough oftener absent from

annals and records than from any other class of historical works. In March, 1883, the town voted to appropriate five hundred dollars for publishing some of the earliest records under the direction of the Library Committee, with the result above stated. This way of preserving history cannot be too strongly commended to the attention of town authorities and all other persons interested. William F. Poole, LL.D., has forwarded his library report for the year, and from time to time important historical and educational papers contributed to the *Dial* and other Chicago periodicals. If we might receive files of such magazines and newspapers as our members use in this way, we should not be troubled by long searches for their missing serial articles. Dr. Poole and his coöperators in the preparation of the new edition of his *Index to Periodical Literature* are daily remembered with gratitude by librarians and scholars. It is interesting to note the fact that Dr. Haven in his first report as Librarian of this Society, read in May, 1839, urged the importance of such a work with special reference to American history. He said: "The value of these store-houses of facts and incidents, is diminished by the quantity of extraneous matter by which these facts are surrounded and buried. If it were practicable to obtain the leading periodicals of our country, religious, political, literary and scientific, as they are issued, it would be easy for the Librarian to preserve an *Index Rerum* of important matters found in them, having a bearing upon our history, by means of references placed under these heads to which the subjects relate. A valuable collection of references to minor historical materials might thus be gradually accumulated."

Having brought his series of articles on the ships of the last four centuries to a conclusion, Admiral Preble has asked leave to put them into substantial binding for our shelves. With the generous spirit of the sailor he has dryly added to his clippings on longevity, his "Grog: a

Mixture of Prose and Verse; Brewed by George Henry Preble for Private Distribution." Gen. Horatio Rogers, in editing Lieut. Hadden's Journal kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's campaign in 1776 and 1777, has brought together a great deal of valuable matter, both controversial and otherwise, relative to Burgoyne's army in America. He has placed a copy in the library of this Society, of which he is a member. President Salisbury ordered, but a few days before his death, a large collection of pamphlets to be presented to the Society, at the same time calling attention to the importance of preserving fragments of history so small as the following, which throws a ray of light upon the festivities of three-score and ten years ago :

### Worcester Social Assemblies.

THE company of *Mr. Stephen Salisbury* is requested at HATHAWAY'S HALL, on Wednesday evening, the 27th November ; and on Thursday evenings, the 19th December ; 9th January ; 30th January ; and 20th February—at 5 o'clock, precisely.

GARDNER BURBANK,	} <i>Managers.</i>
EDWARD D. BANGS,	
TILLY RICE,	
PLINY MERRICK,	

*Worcester, Nov. 23, 1816.*

I need only mention his wise increase of the Publishing and the Librarian's and General Funds, as the bequest is elsewhere referred to.

From Vice-President Hoar we have received, as usual upon his return from Washington, a very large collection

of valuable Public Documents. At the suggestion of our Councillor, Dr. Joseph Sargent (H. C. 1834) the Class Secretary, Thomas Cushing, Esq., sends Memorials of the Class of 1834 of Harvard College, and Homer T. Fuller, Ph.D., deposits *Memorialia* of the Class of '64 in Dartmouth College. Such notices, being prepared with care, are generally found to be reliable and valuable. As they are much sought for in the preparation of biographical sketches, we are especially anxious to secure them. Judge Hamilton B. Staples has supplied us with copies of his paper on the "Province Laws of Massachusetts," for use in our sale and exchange departments. Dr. Edward Jarvis's gift of his "Supposed Decay of Families in New England, disproved by the experience of the people of Concord, Mass.," is a reminder that a learned Doctor of Medicine has the past summer found a new use for our alcove of Genealogy in the preparation of a kindred paper, bearing upon the present size of American Families as compared with that of a century ago. Our Recording Secretary, Hon. John D. Washburn, has added to his Semi-Annual gift of insurance literature a quantity of state documents from his desk in the Massachusetts Senate, and William S. Barton, Esq., has sent one hundred and fifty-eight books and seventy-two numbers of our proceedings, being material formerly in the library of his father, the late Judge Barton.

Mrs. Penelope Lincoln Canfield's gift includes some of the latest and best authorities in American History. Most of them are such books as we should purchase if the collection and research fund would allow. Mr. Joseph E. Davis has placed in the library thirty-seven well bound volumes containing family, business and political letters received from 1816 to 1852 by his father, the late Hon. Isaac Davis. The collection is an interesting one, not only biographically and genealogically, but as throwing light upon the ways of conducting the business of law, of banking, of insurance,

the beginnings of the various religious and educational institutions,—especially those under Baptist control,—and the movements of the democratic party. Many prominent citizens of America were in correspondence with Col. Davis, and their letters make a valuable autograph collection. It is certainly a useful gift well placed. With Hon. Clark Jillson's memorial of Holmes Ammidown, he sends from his private press Peter Butler Olney's admirable historical address delivered at the dedication of Memorial Hall, Oxford, Mass., Nov. 19, 1873. Judge Jillson's liberality in printing the address at his own expense, after the town had failed to do so, deserves the thanks of all persons interested in the preservation and dissemination of local history. Mr. Benjamin A. Leonard has presented as a valuable relic—if genuine—a pistol said to have belonged to Major John André. The inscription reminds one of our sole Mayflower memorial—a rude compass—which is guardedly marked “probably came over in the Mayflower.” Such articles have a certain interest, but very unlike that connected, for instance, with Governor John Winthrop's “stone pott tipped and covered w<sup>th</sup> a silver Lydd,” bequeathed to the Society with the vouchers by its second President, Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, which added so much interest to one of Scudder's admirable Winthrop papers,—or the box of tea picked up on Dorchester Neck by Rev. Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris, the morning after the cargoes were destroyed, and by him sent to our cabinet. Mr. Henry J. Parker's presentation of his interesting account of the Army Lodges during the American Revolution, gives your Librarian an opportunity to say that our founder, who was the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Massachusetts, left in this library no mean collection of both Masonic and Anti-Masonic literature in book, pamphlet and newspaper form.

Mrs. Henry P. Sturgis has kindly presented a copy of Appleton's *American Encyclopædia*, sixteen vols. octavo,

1858-63, in full calf binding. Hon. John Wentworth, in forwarding his additions and corrections to his voluminous History of the Wentworth Family, offered one of a few copies of the very rare New Hampshire Register of 1810, reprinted at his expense, to fill gaps in sets nearly complete. We were glad to be able to report an original in our set.

The numbers of "Carl's Tour in Main Street, Worcester," have been carefully mounted, tastefully illustrated and richly bound by Mr. Herbert Wesby for service rendered. This spirited but anonymous work<sup>1</sup> has appeared three times—in the Worcester Palladium of 1855, 1857, 1858 and 1874—as originally written, without note, comment or correction. Though not within our province, it would seem to be a timely and perhaps profitable venture for the Worcester Society of Antiquity, this Bi-Centennial Year, to put it into book form with suitable notes and corrections.

If any apology were necessary for thus publicly acknowledging our important accessions, the following incident and remarks recorded of your late Librarian by his friend whom to-day we especially remember, would at least suggest an excuse. Said President Salisbury, "Our friend asked, is Mr. Haven a good beggar? The answer was decidedly no, but he is a good receiver. This is the secret of his power to attract the accumulations with which you have been enriched. No one could bring a desirable object to the library without gaining better knowledge of the value of his gift and more good will to repeat the donation." The charm of this tribute is in its truth and in the fact that it was paid in Dr. Haven's life time by one who always spoke and acted the truth. It is all important that its

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<sup>1</sup>There is no doubt that "Carl's Tour," was written by the Hon. John S. C. Knowlton, editor of the Palladium, and it seems quite certain that he was assisted in the compilation of the material by Mr. Clarendon Wheelock, then a well known citizen of Worcester.



spirit remain with us, as although some valuable works are obtained with our special funds by purchase, and many more by exchange, our library growth still depends chiefly upon the gifts of members and friends.

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,

*Librarian.*

## Donors and Donations.

### FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, WILLIAM S., Esq., Worcester.**—One hundred and sixty-three books; seventy-two numbers of the American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings; and forty-three miscellaneous pamphlets.
- BELL, Hon. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.**—Exercises at the Centennial Celebration of the Founding of Phillips Exeter Academy, June 20 and 21, 1883, including Governor Bell's address.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Esq., Richmond, Va.**—Chesterman's Guide to Richmond and the Battle Fields; and three pamphlets.
- DAVIS, Hon. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.**—His Record of Japanese vessels driven upon the North-west Coast of America and its outlying Islands.
- DEANE, CHARLES, LL.D., Cambridge.**—Tributes to the memory of George Dexter offered at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, January 10, 1884.
- DEWEY, Hon. FRANCIS H., Worcester.**—Three books; and one hundred and ten pamphlets.
- DEXTER, Rev. HENRY M., D.D., Boston.**—Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Congregational Church in Essex, containing Dr. Dexter's address.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Esq., Worcester.**—Fifty pamphlets.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.**—His Harvard Medical School Centennial Address; his notes on a copy of Dr. William Douglass's Almanac of 1748; forty-nine books; sixty pamphlets; and the Groton Citizen, in continuation.
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, M.D., Amherst.**—Three Amherst College pamphlets.
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM B., D.D., New York.**—Fifteen books; nine hundred and four pamphlets; and two photographs.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.**—His Speech on the Relation of the National Government to Domestic Commerce; the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion; and the United States Consular Reports, in continuation; thirty-six books; and nine hundred and forty-two pamphlets.
- JARVIS, EDWARD, M.D., Dorchester.**—His "Supposed Decay of Families in New England disproved by the experience of the people of Concord, Mass."
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Jr., Augusta, Ga.**—His Life and Services of Ex-Governor Charles Jones Jenkins; and his address delivered before the Confederate Survivors' Association at its sixth annual meeting, 1884.
- LINCOLN, Col. SOLOMON, Boston.**—Two engraved portraits of Hon. Solomon Lincoln.
- MOORE, GEORGE H., LL.D., New York.**—His Supplementary Notes on Witchcraft, 1884; and his Notes on Tithing-men and the Ballot in Massachusetts.

- NOURSE, HENRY S., Esq., Lancaster.**—His *Early Records of Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1643-1725*.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.**—A collection of colored theatrical hand-bills and broadsides, in continuation.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.**—His *Episode of Worcester History; Paine Family Records, Vol. 2, No. 12; five books; one hundred and forty-nine pamphlets; three maps and four files of newspapers*.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Clinton, Ill.**—The *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, as issued.
- PÉREZ, Sr. ANDRÉS AZNAR, Merida, Yucatan.**—Three files of Mexican newspapers.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Ia.**—His *Historical Sketch of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1784-1884; his Episcopal Address, 1884; Iowa Diocesan Journal, 1884; and the Iowa Churchman*, as issued.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.**—His articles on "The Lost Atlantis Theory"; "On the Use of Books"; on Thomas Hutchinson; and his *Librarian's Report, 1884*.
- PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G., Lexington.**—His address delivered at Bradford, Mass., March 28, 1884, at the presentation of a portrait of Ann Hasseltine Judson.
- PREBLE, Admiral GEORGE H., Brookline.**—His *Ships of the Nineteenth Century*, concluded; his *Grog: a Mixture of Prose and Verse*; and newspaper clippings on the subject of Longevity.
- PUTNAM, Prof. FREDERICK W., Cambridge.**—His "Abnormal Human Skulls from Stone Graves in Tennessee"; and his account of a new stand for skulls; his remarks bearing upon the Antiquity of man in America; and two photographs of blocks of Tufa, from Nicaragua, containing human foot-prints.
- ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, Providence, R. I.**—Lieut. James M. Hadden's *Journal kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's campaign in 1776 and 1777*, edited by Gen. Rogers.
- SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.**—One book; two hundred and seventy-four selected pamphlets; a Worcester invitation of early date; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Jr., Esq., Worcester.**—Four books; four hundred and twenty-two pamphlets; one map; and "Science," as issued.
- SMITH, WILLIAM A., Esq., Worcester.**—The *Weekly Underwriter*, in continuation.
- STAPLES, Hon. HAMILTON B., Worcester.**—Twenty-two copies of his "Province Laws of Massachusetts."
- THOMPSON, Prof. CHARLES O., Terre Haute, Ind.**—"Rose Polytechnic Institute, Terre Haute, Indiana, Founder, Buildings and Instruction."
- WASHBURN, Hon. JOHN D., Worcester.**—Eight books; fifty-one pamphlets; and six files of insurance periodicals, in continuation.
- WHITTLESEY, Col. CHARLES, Cleveland, O.**—*Wright's Glacial Boundary in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky*.
- WINSOR, Prof. JUSTIN, Cambridge.**—His *Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography*.

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, June 17, 1884, containing Mr. Winthrop's address.

FROM THOSE NOT MEMBERS.

- BAILEY, Mr. ISAAC H., Boston.—His Shoe and Leather Reporter, as issued.
- BALDWIN AND COMPANY, Messrs. JOHN D., Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.
- BALL, GEORGE H., Esq., Worcester.—Nineteen books; and one hundred and eleven pamphlets.
- BARTLETT, Mr. FRANK W., Northfield, Vt.—His Memorial of Gen. Alonzo Jackman, LL.D.
- BARTOW, MORREY HALE, Esq., Secretary, New York.—Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of America, No. 1.
- BEERS, Rev. JOHN S., Natick.—Slater's "Diocese of Massachusetts. Its Historical Possessions and Wants"; and two pamphlets.
- BIRNEY, Mr. WILLIAM, Chicago, Ill.—His Sketch of the Life of James G. Birney.
- BOARDMAN, Hon. SAMUEL L., Augusta, Me.—His Home Farm, as issued.
- BRADLEE, Rev. CALEB D., Boston.—Two early manuscript documents.
- BROOKS, Rev. WILLIAM H., D.D., Secretary, Hanover.—Journal of the Massachusetts Diocesan Convention, 1884; and the Constitution and Canons.
- BURR, Messrs. W. H. AND COMPANY, Detroit, Mich.—American Meteorological Journal, Vol. I.
- CANFIELD, Mrs. P. W., Worcester.—Six books and two pamphlets, chiefly historical.
- CARPENTER, Rev. CHARLES C., Mount Vernon.—Forty-four pamphlets.
- CHANDLER, Mr. HORACE P., Boston.—His Every Other Saturday, as issued.
- CHICKERING, Prof. JOSEPH K., Amherst.—Thirty-seven pamphlets.
- CLARKE, ROBERT, Esq., Cincinnati, O.—Fifteenth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, 1883; Durrett's "John Filson, the first Historian of Kentucky. An account of his life and writings"; and one map.
- COFFIN, ALLEN, Esq., Nantucket.—The Life of Tristram Coffin of Nantucket, Mass., Founder of the Family line in America.
- COOK, Mr. HENRY H., Barre.—His Gazette, as issued.
- COURTENAY, Hon. WILLIAM A., Mayor, Charleston, S. C.—The Centennial of the Incorporation of the City of Charleston, South Carolina.
- COX, Hon. WILLIAM R., Raleigh, N. C.—Two of his congressional speeches, 1884.
- CULLUM, Gen. GEORGE W., U. S. A.—His Historical Sketch of the Fortification Defenses of Narragansett Bay since 1638.
- CUSHING, THOMAS, Esq., Secretary, Boston.—Memorials of the Class of 1884 of Harvard College, Boston, 1884.
- DARLING, Gen. CHARLES W., Utica, N. Y.—Two historical pamphlets.
- DAVIS, Mr. JOSEPH E., Worcester.—Thirty-seven bound volumes of letters to Isaac Davis, 1816-1852.

- DODGE, MR. BENJAMIN J., Worcester.—His Annual Report as President of the Worcester County Mechanics Association, April, 1884.
- DODGE, JAMES H., Esq., Auditor, Boston.—His Annual Report, 1883-84.
- DOE AND COMPANY, Messrs. CHARLES H., Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.
- DUREN, MR. ELNATHAN F., Secretary, Bangor, Me.—General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine, 1884.
- EARLE, PLINY, M.D., Northampton.—The Alienist and Neurologist; and the Journal of Mental Science, in continuation; and eighty-eight pamphlets relating to insanity.
- EDDY, ROBERT H., Esq., Boston.—His Supplement to Genealogical data respecting John Pickering of Portsmouth, N. H., and his descendants.
- ESTABROOK, JAMES E., Esq., Worcester.—Thirteen bound and nineteen unbound files of the New York World, 1868-1884.
- FISHER, CHARLES H., M.D., Secretary, Providence, R. I.—Rhode Island State Board of Health Report for 1884.
- FOLSOM, CAPT. ALBERT A., Boston.—The Eighty-third Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts.
- FOOTE AND HORTON, Messrs., Salem.—Their Gazette, as issued.
- FOSTER, MR. WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His Sixth Annual Report as Librarian of the Providence Public Library.
- FULLER, PROF. HOMER T., Worcester.—Memorialia of the class of '64 in Dartmouth College.
- GODDARD, MR. LUCIUS P., Worcester.—Sixteen selected pamphlets.
- GOODELL, ABNER C., JR., Esq., Salem.—His "Reasons for concluding that the Act of 1711, reversing the Attainders of the persons convicted of Witchcraft in Massachusetts in the year 1692, became a law"; and Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, January-March, 1884.
- GORDON, MR. H. L., St. Paul, Minn.—His Legends of the North-west.
- GREENE, REV. DANIEL CROSBY, D.D., Toiko, Japan.—Three Japanese tiles.
- GREENE, MR. RICHARD W., Worcester.—El Mercurio, in continuation.
- HAMMOND, MR. LEWIS W., Worcester.—Eight pamphlets.
- HASBROUCK, ISAAC E., Esq., Librarian, New Brunswick, N. J.—Four pamphlets relating to Rutgers College.
- HEWETT, MR. GEORGE F., Worcester.—"The California Pilgrimage of Boston Commandery Knights Templars, August 4-September 4, 1883."
- JILLSON, HON. CLARK, Worcester.—His Memorial of Holmes Ammidown; and Olney's Historical Address delivered at the Dedication of Memorial Hall, Oxford, Mass., November 19, 1873.
- KELLOGG AND STRATTON, Messrs., Fitchburg.—Their Sentinel, as issued.
- KING, COL. HORATIO C., Secretary, New York.—The Fifteenth Annual Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac.
- LEAMON, MR. JACOB, Lawrenceburg, Tenn.—His Press, as issued.
- LEONARD, MR. BENJAMIN A., Southbridge.—A pistol said to have been owned by Major André; and "The Treason of Arnold, a tale of West Point during the American Revolution."

- MASON, Prof. OTIS T.,** Washington, D. C.—His account of the Progress of Anthropology in the year 1883; Address in Salem, 1884; and miscellaneous papers relating to anthropology.
- MAY, Rev. SAMUEL,** Leicester.—Forty-two pamphlets relating to slavery and education.
- METCALF, Mr. CALEB B.,** Worcester.—Eighty-three pamphlets; and a file of the Christian Union, in continuation.
- MITCHELL, ALFRED S., Esq.,** New London.—The Woodbridge Record, being an account of the Descendants of Rev. John Woodbridge. New Haven, 1883.
- MORSE, RICHARD C., Esq.,** Secretary, New York.—Year Book of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada, 1884-85.
- MURDOCK, Lieut. JOSEPH B.,** U. S. N.—His "Cruise of Columbus in the Bahamas, 1492."
- PARKER, Mr. HENRY J.,** Boston.—His "Army Lodges during the Revolution."
- PARKHURST, Major V. P.,** Templeton.—Historical Documents Nos. 1 and 2, containing the muster rolls of minute men from Templeton, at Concord, 1775.
- PARSONS, CHARLES W., M.D.,** Providence, R. I.—Three books; and twenty-two pamphlets.
- PHILLIPS, Rev. GEORGE W.,** Worcester.—His Discourse on the opening of the organ at Plymouth Church, 1884.
- PHILLIPS, HENRY, Jr., Esq.,** Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Note on the Codex Ramirez, with a translation of the same"; and his paper "on a supposed Bunic Inscription at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia."
- PIERCE, Mr. CHARLES F.,** Worcester.—Two books and twenty-six pamphlets.
- POPE, Mr. ALBERT A.,** Boston.—"What and Why. Some Common Questions Answered."
- RICE, Mr. FRANKLIN P.,** Worcester.—His Portrait and Sketches of the Presidents of the United States, from Washington to Arthur; and Blake's Early Settlements of Worcester.
- RICE, Hon. WILLIAM W.,** Worcester.—Abridgment of U. S. Message and Documents, 1883-84.
- RIORDAN, Mr. JOHN J.,** Worcester.—Ober's "Mexican Resources: a Guide to and through Mexico."
- ROBERTSON, Rev. C. F., D.D.,** St. Louis, Mo.—His "Historical Societies in their relation to local Historical Interest," and his "American Revolution and the Acquisition of the Valley of the Mississippi."
- ROE, Mr. ALFRED S.,** Worcester.—His "Greek and its latest Critic;" and Twelve Numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review.
- RUSSELL, Mr. E. HARLOW,** Worcester.—Massachusetts State Normal School, Worcester, Catalogue for 1884.
- SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC,** Newark, O.—Five Ohio pamphlets; and various newspapers containing Historical and Archæological Articles, by himself and others.
- SONS OF OAKES AMES.**—A memoir of Oakes Ames, with an account of the Dedication of the Oakes Ames Memorial Hall.
- STAPLES, Mr. SAMUEL E.,** Worcester.—His Historical Sketch of the Worcester County Musical Association; and four pamphlets.

- STURGIS, Mrs. HENRY P.**, Boston.—Appleton's New American Encyclopædia, 16 volumes, 1858-83; and two English newspapers.
- TOLEDO, Sr. JUAN**, Merida, Yucatan.—File of a Yucatan newspaper.
- TOWNE, ENOCH H., Esq.**, City Clerk, Worcester.—Worcester City Documents, 1884; and Worcester Statistics, 1850-1883.
- TURNER, Mr. JOHN H.**, Ayer.—His Public Spirit, as issued.
- WATSON, Mr. S. M.**, Portland, Me.—Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder, Vol. I., No. 1.
- WENTWORTH, Hon. JOHN**, Chicago, Ill.—His additions and corrections to the Wentworth Genealogy.
- WESBY, Messrs. JOSEPH S. AND SONS**, Worcester.—Worcester County Directory, 1876-7.
- WHITING, CHARLES B., Esq.**, Worcester.—Seven financial pamphlets.
- WILLIAMSON, Hon. JOSEPH**, Belfast, Me.—His remarks at a meeting of the Maine Historical Society, May 22, 1884.
- WILLSON, Rev. EDMUND B.**, Salem.—The celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Settlement.
- WINSLOW, Rev. WILLIAM C.**, Boston.—Five pamphlets on the Free Church question.
- WOOD, Mrs. ALPHONSO**, Worcester.—Twelve books, and one pamphlet.
- WOOD, Mr. AMASA**, Worcester.—His Brief History of the Descendants of Thomas Wood and Ann, his wife.
- WRIGHT, Mr. HARRISON**, Wilkesbarre, Pa.—His "Manuscripts of the Earl of Ashburnham."

## FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.**—Their Proceedings, January-April, 1884.
- ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Historical Reporter, as issued.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.**—Proceedings, Vol. XIX., Parts 1 and 2.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.**—Their Magazine, as issued.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Bulletins, 1883, Nos. 5, 6, and 1884, Nos. 1, 2.
- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.**—Their Proceedings at Boston, May, 1884.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Proceedings, No. 115.
- ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.**—Fifth Annual Report of the Executive Committee.
- BOOKMART PUBLISHING COMPANY.**—Their Magazine, as issued.
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.**—The Twelfth Annual Report; and their Statements of Mortality, as issued.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.**—A memorial of Wendell Phillips, from the City of Boston; and the Report of the Record Commissioners, containing "Records of Boston Selectmen, 1701 to 1715."
- BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL.**—Twentieth Report of the Trustees.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Thirty-second Annual Report; and the Bulletin, as issued.

**BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.**—Their Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, January 8, 1884.

**BROOKLYN LIBRARY.**—The Twenty-sixth Annual Report.

**BUFFALO YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION.**—Their Forty-eighth Annual Report.

**CANADIAN INSTITUTE.**—The Proceedings, Vol. II., No. 2.

**CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—McVicker's "The Theatre—its Early Days in Chicago."

**CHICAGO LITERARY CLUB.**—Their Constitution, with list of Officers and Members.

**CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—Their Bulletin of 1883.

**COLORADO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY.**—Its Report on the Artesian Wells of Denver.

**CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.**—Their Transactions, Vol. VI., Part 1.

**CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.**—Twenty-two Volumes Connecticut State Documents, 1868-1884.

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**NEW YORK MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.**—Their Sixty-third Annual Report, and their Bulletin, as issued.

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- NEW YORK YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.**—Their Thirty-first Annual Report.
- OHIO STATE LIBRARY.**—Nine State Documents, 1882-84.
- PEABODY INSTITUTE, Baltimore.**—The Seventeenth Annual Report.
- PEABODY MUSEUM OF ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.**—The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Annual Reports.
- PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE.**—Their Report for the year 1883.
- PHILADELPHIA LAW ASSOCIATION.**—Rawle's address at the unvelling of the statue of Chief Justice Marshall, at Washington, May 10, 1884.
- PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY COMPANY.**—Their Bulletin, as issued.
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- SAINT LOUIS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.**—Transactions, Vol. IV., No. 3.
- SEVENTH DAY ADVENT MISSIONARY SOCIETY.**—Their Signs of the Times, as issued.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.**—The Annual Report of the Board of Regents for the year 1882.
- SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE.**—Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Centrale, 1844, Nos. 11, 12.
- SOCIÉTÉ D'ETHNOGRAPHIQUE.**—Seven of their publications.
- SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES.**—Their Journal, as issued.
- SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.**—Their Proceedings, December 7, 1882-June 28, 1883, and List of Members, June 12, 1884.
- SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.**—Their Annual Report, 1884.
- TOLEDO PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Ninth Annual Report.
- TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.**—Their Record, as issued.
- UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.**—The Circulars of Information, as issued.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.**—The Patent Office Gazette in Continuation; and the Commissioner of Patents' Report for the year 1883.
- UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM.**—Proceedings, Vol. II., 1883.
- UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.**—Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, vol. 5; Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1883, three volumes; and four pamphlets.
- VERMONT STATE LIBRARY.**—Twelve Volumes of Vermont State Documents.
- WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.**—Eighteen files of Newspapers.
- WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—Sixty-one files of Newspapers, in continuation; one book; and one hundred and twelve pamphlets.
- WORCESTER HOME JOURNAL COMPANY.**—Their Journal, as issued.
- WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.**—The New York Evening Post, in continuation.
- WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.**—Their Proceedings for the year 1883.
- YALE COLLEGE.**—Two College pamphlets, 1884.



## NOTES ON COPPER IMPLEMENTS OF AMERICA.

BY HENRY W. HAYNES.

IN the Proceedings of this Society for April, 1879, there is an important article by Dr. Valentini on "Mexican Copper Tools and the use of Copper by the Mexicans before the Conquest," translated from the German by Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., and afterwards reprinted by him as a valuable contribution to American Archæology. This interesting paper is mainly based upon a thorough study of the pictures to be found in Mexican codices, and I have thought that a few notes upon it might be worthy of being brought to your attention.

It has already been pointed out by Prof. J. D. Butler, of the University of Wisconsin, that Dr. Valentini has fallen into an error in stating in regard to the natives of Mexico and Central America, as well as those of North America, that "both were trained to the practice of war, and strange to say both had invariably abstained from shaping copper into any implement of war, the metal being appropriated solely to the uses of peace." In the *American Antiquarian* for October, 1880 (p. 33), he calls attention to the fact that more than one hundred copper spear-heads are contained in the very remarkable collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society, at Madison, which is principally the result of the disinterested labors in that State of Mr. F. S. Perkins, carried on by a personal exploration of several counties extended over many months. I have here for your inspection a couple of specimens of these Wisconsin spear-heads, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr.

Perkins. One of them exhibits very clearly the kind of surface markings which are supposed by some persons, I think erroneously, to indicate that the metal has been melted and cast. Copper spear-heads of this shape are by no means confined to the State of Wisconsin. Dr. C. C. Abbott in his "Primitive Industry," figures two similar examples found in the State of New York, and he remarks that "it is not improbable that copper weapons were in quite general use at the time of European contact" (p. 418.)

Dr. Valentini makes the following statement in regard to the method by which the Mexicans fastened to their handles their copper axes of the flat celt type: "The wooden handle . . . instead of being chopped off at the top . . . extends further and is bent down to an angle of about 45 degrees. . . . We only *presume* that in order to get a durable handle they sought a curved branch." Since this was written new light has been shed upon this subject by the publication of Mr. John Evans's "*Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*," the sixth chapter of which is devoted to a thorough study of "*methods of hafting celts*," and is illustrated by several plates. One of these represents just such a crooked handle, made out of a curved branch of a beech tree, the original of which I have myself examined in the Museum of Salzburg, in Austria. This with three similar handles was discovered in the very ancient workings of the neighboring salt-mines of Hallein, and they were used for hafting those flat winged-celts, of the Age of Bronze, commonly called palstaves. Two photographs of these remarkable relics of antiquity, preserved in all their integrity in such a marvellous manner for so many centuries, are given in the "*Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme*," vol. xvi., pp. 220, 211 (May 1881.) The preface to Mr. Evans's work is dated March, 1881. But as early as January, 1875, Prof. Strobel had published his views upon the method of hafting and using palstaves, derived from the discovery of several of these curved

handles in the Terremares of Emilia, and the Lake-Dwellings of Northern Italy. (“*Bollettino di Paletnologia Italiana*,” vol. i., p. 7, tav. 1.) Palstaves with similar curved handles are also plainly delineated upon the celebrated bronze “situla,” a product of the ancient Etruscan civilization, found in the excavations of the Campo Santo at Bologna, and now preserved in the Civic Museum of that city. This is represented upon Plate XXXV. of the splendid work of Zannoni, entitled “*Gli scavi della Certosa di Bologna*.” The socketed celts, also, of the Bronze and the early Iron Ages, were hafted in a similar fashion by means of a curved branch. One handle of this shape which has been preserved in the most remarkable manner to the present time, is now in Mr. Evans’s extensive collection of prehistoric objects at Hemel-Hempsted, Hertfordshire, England, and is figured in the work already alluded to. I had the good fortune to procure this interesting relic for him at Florence in the winter of 1877, and I have here for your inspection a rude drawing of it, which I made at the time. With the exception of a fracture not far from the angle the handle of this specimen is still perfect. It was found in the neighborhood of Chiusi, in Tuscany, about the year 1872, and it appears to belong to that period of transition between the Bronze and the Iron Ages, when the so-called Proto-Etruscans made their appearance in Italy. “The preservation is due,” says Mr. Evans, “to its having been entirely coated with thin plates of bronze, the sides of which overlap, and have been secured round the handle by round-headed nails about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch apart. . . . The fracture exposes the wood inside the plates, which has been preserved by the salts, or oxide, of copper.”

The copper implement with a semi-lunar blade, copied by Dr. Valentini from Dupaix, *Antiquités Mexicaines*, and to be found in Lord Kingsborough’s great work (vol. iv., Part ii., Pl. 25, Fig. 77,) is regarded by him as a hoe or some such utensil for tillage. But our associate, Mr. F. W.

Putnam, in a very valuable paper presented at the October meeting 1882, entitled "Copper Implements from Mexico," prefers to consider it as possibly a knife, although in a note appended he inclines to the opinion that it is a "scraper," perhaps employed in the manufacture of pottery. He there states that Dr. Valentini now believes that such copper implements from Mexico are knives, and he instances in support of this view the fact that several small bronze knives of this shape, found in Peru, are preserved in the Peabody Museum, under his charge, in Cambridge. I wish to bring forward one more example to strengthen this opinion that such objects are certainly knives. In Schoolcraft's great work on the "Indian Tribes" (Part iv., p. 438, pl. 39), is described and figured an object of this shape made of bronze, and found in Chili, although undoubtedly it came from Peru. The blade and handle are cast in one piece, and the handle is made in the form of the inverted leg and foot of a bird. Mr. Ewbank, late Commissioner of Patents, who describes it, calls it "a Peruvian knife proper, with a circular blade," and states that he has "met with one more elaborately worked in the handle in a South American collection of antiquities. . . . When used, the right hand grasped the shank, while the ball of the thumb rested between the open claws. In this way a firm hold and control of the blade was secured." Similar curved knives are used now by workers in leather, and have been from the earliest historical times. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his "Ancient Egyptians" (vol. i., p. 233, wood cut No. 65, c. and vol. ii., p. 187), gives a figure of one which is delineated upon a painted tomb at Thebes. The Scholiast upon Nicander, *Theriaca* (v. 423), informs us that a knife of this shape, which was called by the name *ἄρβηλος*, was also employed by the leather-dressers of ancient Greece.

## PROCEEDINGS.

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SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 29, 1885, AT THE HALL OF THE  
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

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THE following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership) : George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Charles Deane, George F. Hoar, Andrew P. Peabody, Thomas C. Amory, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Rufus Woodward, Charles H. Bell, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, John D. Washburn, Thomas W. Higginson, Albert H. Hoyt, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Franklin B. Dexter, Philipp J. J. Valentini, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Henry C. Lodge, Frederick W. Putnam, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Charles M. LALSON, Henry S. Nourse, Daniel Merriman.

The President, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., was in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the last meeting, which were approved.

The Council nominated the following gentlemen for membership, each of whom was chosen by a separate ballot on his name :

THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN DWIGHT, Esq., of Auburn, New York.

Rev. EBENEZER CUTLER, D.D., of Worcester.

Mr. REUBEN COLTON, of Worcester.

Hon. WILLIAM WHITNEY RICE, of Worcester.

Rev. JOSEPH ANDERSON, D.D., of Waterbury, Conn.

ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. HENRY HERBERT EDES, of Charlestown, Mass.

And as a foreign member :

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN, D.C.L., of Oxford, England.

The President of the Society read the report of the Council, NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., the Treasurer's report, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., the Librarian's report, all of which were accepted, on motion of CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq., and referred to the Committee of Publication.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Esq., presented a paper on the subject of the "Authorship of certain numbers of the *Federalist*," and Professor FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, one on "The History of Connecticut as illustrated by the Names of her Towns," both of which were, on motion of the Recording Secretary, referred to the Committee of Publication, with the thanks of the Society.

PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI, Ph.D., made a communication on the working and use of metals by the ancient Mexicans, and Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES one on "French Fabrications or Blunders in American Linguistics," which were, on motion of Colonel SOLOMON LINCOLN, referred to the Committee of Publication, with the thanks of the Society.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., referred to the fact that the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D., had written a letter suggesting that the Society take some action relative to the suitable commemoration of the discovery of America by Columbus. Though the great anniversary was some

years distant, it was not too early to consider the subject. As there was not time at this meeting for deliberate and mature action, he moved that a committee be appointed to report on the subject at the annual meeting. The motion having been adopted, the chair appointed as the committee, Dr. ELLIS, CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., and STEPHEN SALISBURY, Esq.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

*Recording Secretary.*



## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

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At the annual meeting in October, our associate, Mr. Deane, conveyed to us the grateful expression of the sympathy of the Massachusetts Historical Society for our irreparable loss in the death of President Salisbury. We rejoice in the opportunity to congratulate that society that the life of its own distinguished president, our honored associate, Mr. Winthrop, has been so marvellously preserved, and that he has been enabled to crown the Commonwealth and himself with new honor by his oration in commemoration of the completion of the Washington Monument, February 22, 1885. Mr. Winthrop delivered the address at the laying of the corner-stone of that monument, July 4, 1848, thus associating his name forever with its beginning and its finishing, as the name of Webster is in like manner associated with that at Bunker Hill. It is enough, yet not too much, to say of Mr. Winthrop's addresses that they are in all respects worthy of the comparison thus suggested, and that these four orations will stand together at the very head of that department of oratory. The completion of this noble structure is itself a historic event of no ordinary interest. In addition to the rare appropriateness of its design, and the singular felicity of the time of its completion in an era of peace, harmony and goodwill between all sections, parties, and classes in our country, it must, of itself, ever take a high rank among great and majestic public works. In a clear morning, when the sky is full of light, or some delicate cloud moves over its summit, far above the streets and towers and

spires of the city, its shining point suggests the lines of the Englishman, Dr. Aiken, written while Washington was yet living :

“ Point of that pyramid, whose solid base  
Rests firmly founded in a Nation's trust,  
Which, while the gorgeous palace sinks in dust,  
Shall stand sublime, and fill its ample space.”

Since the annual meeting of October 21, 1884, the losses of the Society have been heavy. Seven of our members, each a man of rare distinction in his own calling, and each a valuable contributor to the special work to which this institution is dedicated, have died within the last six months :—

	Elected to Membership.	Died.
ELLIS AMES,	April, 1854.	October 30, 1884.
EDWARD JARVIS,	April, 1854.	October 31, 1884.
WILLIAM BARRY,	April, 1859.	January 17, 1885.
PORTER CORNELIUS BLISS,	April, 1861.	February 1, 1885.
SAMUEL CHENERY DAMON,	October, 1869.	February 7, 1885.
GEORGE HENRY PREBLE,	October, 1873.	March 1, 1885.
CHARLES OLIVER THOMPSON,	April, 1878.	March 17, 1885.

Each of these persons was, in his own way, a remarkable character. Biographical sketches of all of them, such as would seem to be demanded by this society, would more than occupy that portion of the time of this meeting which can reasonably be allotted to the report of the Council. We have, therefore, requested members of the Society, whom we consider specially fitted for the duty, to prepare memoirs of our deceased associates, which shall be published hereafter with our proceedings, as follows :—Hon. Ellis Ames by T. L. Nelson ; Rev. Wm. Barry by W. F. Poole ; Mr. Porter C. Bliss by J. Evarts Greene ; Dr. Samuel C. Damon by Ebenezer Cutler ; Dr. Edward Jarvis by S. S. Green ; Admiral George H. Preble by Nathaniel Paine ; Prof. Charles O. Thompson by P. Emory Aldrich.

Some particulars in regard to one of our foreign members whose death was not noticed by the Society at the time of its occurrence, ought to be inserted here. Thomas

G. Geoghegan, M.D., F.R.C.S.I., of Dublin, Ireland, died on Christmas day, 1869. The following obituary sketch is taken from the *Lancet*, of January 1, 1870, page 29 :

“Thomas G. Geoghegan, M.D., F.R.C.S.I. We record with deep regret another eminent member of our profession, Dr. T. G. Geoghegan, who died suddenly at his residence in Upper Merrion Street, Dublin, on Christmas day, whilst in his bath. Dr. Geoghegan was an M.D., Glasgow; Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland; member of the Surgical Society of Ireland; honorary member of the Montreal Natural History Society and the New York Medical Society; Professor of Medical Jurisprudence to the College of Surgeons; Surgeon to the City of Dublin Hospital, and to the Hospital for Incurables. Dr. Geoghegan had attained a very high reputation as an authority on Forensic Medicine, and had published several valuable papers on that subject, as well as on various branches of surgery. His contributions to the medical journals were numerous, and evinced a thorough mastery of the subject he wrote on. His views were those of an eminently practical surgeon and obtained for him a reputation far beyond the limits of his own country.”

The history of the society for the past six months has been uneventful. It will be found in detail in the report of the Librarian and that of the Treasurer. The Librarian has spared no pains to make our collections useful to students, and has placed the members of the Society, and all persons having occasion to use the library, under great obligation by his courtesy and devotion.

It has been, for many years, the custom of the Council to include in its report some original contribution to history, either from the collections of the Society or the result of the investigations of the member who presents it. The present report is inspired by no such ambition. It is desired, with means that are easily accessible, to conduct our associates along a path that to many of them is very familiar. It may not be uninteresting to recall and group

together the obligations of New England to the county of Kent.

Nothing more strikingly exhibits the solid and vigorous quality of the races which are the principal components of the English people than the tenacity with which, through many centuries, the inhabitants of different shires have preserved their peculiarities of local institutions, character, manners and speech. Something like it, although far less in degree, has been observed elsewhere. But there is probably no other country on earth where a people, governed by the same sovereign and the same legislature, mingling freely with each other within so narrow a territory, have preserved for more than a thousand years such marked and striking varieties of character and language as the dwellers in Great Britain. Dr. Haven, in his paper on the Massachusetts Company, quotes from an essay read by Mr. Mackintosh before the British Association the statement that "between the northwest and the southeast portions of England the difference in the character of the people is so great as to give a semi-nationality to each division."

Athens was called the *Ἑλλάς τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, the Greece of Greece. Kent was certainly, from the earliest historic period down to a time long since the settlement of Massachusetts, the England of England. It was specially remarkable among the English shires, from the earliest times, for the courage and warlike quality of its people, for their tenacity in clinging to their own customs, and for the very important part which those customs have played in the history of liberty. It has also contributed to history the best specimen which the Old World exhibits of that character which is summed up in the word "yeoman."

The distinctive quality of the men of Kent has been recognized by all authorities from the very earliest times. Cæsar says, "De Bello Gallico 5th, 14: Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio

est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine." John of Salisbury, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, says, "Cantia nostra primae cohortis honorem, et primos congressus hostium usque in hodiernum diem in omnibus proeliis obtinet."

Selden, in his notes to Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, to the line,

"And foremost ever placed when they shall reckoned be,"

says, "For this honour of the Kentish, hear one that wrote it about Henry II. Enudus (as some copies are, but others Cinidus; and perhaps it should so be, or rather Cnudos, for King Cnut; or else I cannot conjecture what) quanta virtute Anglorum Dacos Danosque fregerit motusque compescuerit Noricorum, vel ex eo perspicuum est, quod ob egregiæ virtutis mentem quam ibidem potenter et patenter exercuit, Cantia nostra, primae cohortis honorem et primos congressus hostium usque in hodiernum diem in omnibus proeliis obtinet. \* \* \* What performance King Cnut did among the Danes and Norwegians, by English valor, is apparent in that until this day the Kentish men for their singular virtue then shewn, have prerogative always to be in the vanguard."

Mr. John Richard Green, in his *Making of England*, chapter 3, page 111, speaking of the middle of the sixth century, says:

"Narrow as were its bounds, Kent equalled in political power the wider realms which were forming about it. It remained, as of old, one of the wealthiest and most flourishing parts of Britain. While the Gwent and Thames valley were still being wasted with fight and ravage, the Cant-wara were settling quietly down into busy husbandmen along its coast, or on its downs, or in the fertile bottoms of the river-valleys that cleft them. It was a sign of this tranquillity that the district had even before Aethelbert's day resumed that intercourse with the continent which the descent of the Jutes had for a time broken off; and that only a few years later we find men versed in the English tongue, the result of a commerce which must have again sprung to life, ready at hand in the ports of Gaul."

Michael Drayton, in his *Poly-Olbion* published in 1613, represents the River Stour as he comes down by Canterbury sounding the praises of his county :

“ To Canterbury then, as kindly he resorts,  
His famous country thus, he gloriously reports;  
O noble Kent, quoth he, this praise doth thee belong,  
The hard'st to be control'd, impatientest of wrong.  
Who, when the Norman first with pride and horror sway'd  
Threw'st off the servile yoke upon the English laid;  
And with a high resolve, most bravely didst restore  
That libertie so long enjoyed by thee before.  
Not suffering forraine Laues should thy free Customes bind,  
Then onely shoud'st thyselfe of th' ancient Saxon kind,  
Of all the English shires be thou surnamed the Free,  
And foremost ever plac'd, when they shall reckoned bee.”

— [*Song the eighteenth.*]

Blackstone says, “It is universally known what struggles the Kentish men made to preserve their ancient liberties, and with how much success these struggles were attended.” Vol. 2, page 84. He adds that, “when Liberty dies out in England, it will give its last groan among the yeomen of Kent.”

Wordsworth, in his noble sonnet, written in 1803, says :

“ Left single, in bold parley, ye, of yore,  
Did from the Norman win a gallant wreath;  
Confirmed the charters that were yours before.”

The belief, to which Blackstone and Wordsworth allude, prevailed unquestioned from a time very near that of William the Conqueror until very lately. The received story is thus told by Selden in his notes to Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, to the line,

“ Not suffering foreign laws should thy free Customs bind.”

“ To explain it I thus English you a fragment of an old work.<sup>1</sup> When the Norman conqueror had the day, he came to Dover Castle, that he might with the sword subdue Kent also; wherefore, Stigand, Archbishop, and Egelfin, Abbot, as the chief of that shire, observing that now whereas heretofore no villeins (the Latin is

<sup>1</sup>Th. Spotus ap. Lamb in Expllc. Verb.

nullus fuerat servus, and applying it to our law phrase, I thus translate it) had been in England, they should be now all in bondage to the Normans, they assembled all the county and showed the imminent dangers, the insolence of the Normans, and the hard condition of villenage. They, resolving all rather to die than lose their freedom, purpose to encounter with the Duke for their country's liberties. Their captains are the Archbishop and the Abbot. Upon an appointed day they meet all at Swanescomb, and harbouring themselves in the woods, with boughs in every man's hand they incompass his way. The next day, the Duke coming by Swanescomb, seemed to see with amazement as it were a wood approaching towards him. The Kentish men at the sound of a trumpet, take themselves to arms, when presently the Archbishop and Abbot were sent to the Duke and saluted him with these words: 'Behold, Sir Duke, the Kentish men come to meet you, willing to receive you as their liege lord, upon that condition, that they may forever enjoy their antient liberties and laws used among their ancestors; otherwise, presently offering war; being ready rather to die, than undergo a yoke of bondage, and so lose their antient laws.' The Norman, in this narrow pinch, not so willingly as wisely, granted the desire; and hostages given on both sides, the Kentish men direct the Normans to Rochester, and deliver them the county and the castle of Dover. Hither is commonly referred the retaining of antient liberties in Kent. Indeed it is certain that special customs they have in their *gavel-kind* (although many of their gentlemen's possessions are altered in that part) *suffering for felony without forfeiture of estate*, and such like, as in particular, with many other diligent traditions you have in Lambard's *Perambulations*. Yet the report of Thomas Spot is not, methinks, of clear credit, as well by reason that no warrant of the historians about the conquest affirms it (and this monk lived under Ed. I.) as also for his commixture of a falsehood about villenage, saying it was not in England before that time, which is apparently false by divers testimonies."

Thomas Spot, or Spotus, lived in the time of Edward the First, who came to the throne one hundred and eighty-five years after the death of William the Conqueror. His story seems to be utterly refuted by Domesday Book,

which shows not only the confiscation there to have been complete, but also shows the existence of a larger proportion of villeins and serfs than in most other English counties.

Freeman, *Norman Conquest* 5, p. 41, says :

“Domesday teaches us, in a way in which no other witness can, the widely different fate which befell different districts of England in the days of the Conquest. It is from Domesday alone that we learn how sweeping a confiscation it was which fell on the land through which the Conqueror’s army first marched; how Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, became, above all other shires, the prey of the spoiler, and how Kent, the land whose warriors had gathered closest around the standard of the Fighting Man, met its glorious punishment in the doom which decreed that no English tenant in chief might hold a rood of Kentish soil.”

Ib. Vol. 5, p. 810, note O., Freeman says :

“Nothing better upsets the legendary belief that Kent obtained special privileges from William than a glance at the English Domesday. The completeness of the confiscation there (see Vol. 4, p. 34) was doubtless owing to this shire being the immediate government of the rapacious Odo. Sussex fared only a little better than Kent; Surrey a little better than Sussex. The real glory of Kent, which it shares with Sussex, is not to have won privileges from William by craft, but that its men had been foremost in the great battle, and that they had been so utterly cut off that the whole land lay ready for confiscation.”

All recent historians agree with Mr. Freeman, whose reasons seem conclusive. But the invention itself seems to prove the establishment in Kent of its ancient laws and customs at the time of its author. The fact remains undisputed, and since the rejection of the Thomas Spotus story it is left unexplained, that the Kentish customs have existed from a time within two centuries of William the Conqueror, and that they were then and have ever since been *customs*, a term which in English law always implies a usage extending backward beyond the memory of man. In whatever way they were protected against the Conqueror



and his Norman successors, and against the whole power of feudalism and the whole spirit of English law and the temper of the English people, our obligation remains the same to the sturdy dwellers in the little shire, less in size than our Worcester, who maintained and defended them for six hundred years.

The charter granted by King James to the Duke of Lenox and his associates in 1606, granted the part of the globe between the 36th and 45th degrees of north latitude from the sea westward as far as land could be found to be held to them and their successors and assigns in free and common socage, and not *in capite* or by knight service, as of the manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent. This is repeated in the numerous subsequent charters, and in the patent granted to the Massachusetts Company by the Council for New England in 1627-8, and in the Plymouth patent granted January 13, 1629, in the fifth year of the reign of Charles I. by the Council for New England to William Bradford and his associates. The tenure in free and common socage, and not *in capite* or by knight service, implied that the condition on which the land was to be held was of a fixed and certain character, and such only as it was not unbecoming a freeman to perform, in contradistinction to the uncertain and burdensome obligation of the tenants *in capite* or by knight service, which were such as attending the lord in his wars, furnishing men and supplies for the same, and the like, and also in contradistinction to tenancy in villein socage, where the services, though certain, were of a base nature.

It has been supposed that the tenure "as of the manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent," would, of itself, give, in the new colony, the force of law to all the Kentish customs, so far as they concerned the holding and descent of land, until repealed or modified under the power granted "to make all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes and ordinances, directions and instructions,"

&c. This may well be doubted. To hold "as of our manor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent" is a very ancient form in royal grants. It was inserted to imply that the lands were to be holden directly of the King and not of any intermediate feudal superior. If the King had made a similar grant of lands situate in England they would have been descendible to the heirs of the grantee according to the laws to which they were before subject. It was very early affirmed by the court in England, in 4 and 5 Ph. & M. and in 26 H. 8, that these customs did not attach to any land which had not been subject to them from time immemorial, notwithstanding any declaration in the grant as to the tenure by which they were to be held. To use the language of an old law writer, "the tenure guideth not the descent, but the tenure and the nature together doe governe it."—Lambard's *Perambulations of Kent*, 394, published 1576. The King had no more power than any private grantor to alter the law or custom of the realm. On the other hand, he claimed the power of absolute legislation over territory acquired by conquest, or discovery, without any control by Parliament. At any rate, the effect of this clause in the charter was that no lands were here to be held of any feudal superior but the King himself, and of him on no other condition but that reserved of the payment of one-fifth of the product of all mines of gold and silver. This left the way open for the introduction by the legislative authority of the Kentish system of descent, if it did not operate to establish that system. A grant to hold by knight service or *in capite* would have been inconsistent with anything but primogeniture. But the Body of Liberties, in 1641, as is pointed out by Mr. Justice Gray, in *Jackson v. Phillips*, 14 Allen, 561, adopted, either with or without modification, each of the principal Kentish usages affecting the tenure of real estate.

By the custom of Kent, no man was born a villein or slave within its borders. In the treatise on the Customs

of Kent in Lambard's *Perambulations of Kent*, published in 1576, it is said: "It appeareth by claime made in our annccient treatise, that the bodyes of all Kentishe persons be of free condition, which also is confessed to be true, 30 E. I., in the title of Villenage, 46 in Fitzherbert, where it is holden sufficient for a man to avoide the objection of bondage, to say, that his father was borne in the shyre of Kent. But whether it will serve in that case to saye, that himselfe was borne in Kent, I have knowne it (for good reason) doubted." p. 413.

This is enacted by Massachusetts in the well-known Art. 91 of the Body of Liberties, "There shall never be any bound slaves, villingage or captivitie amongst us unless it be lawful captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us."

But the Kentish customs whose adoption had the most important influence upon our history are those which affect the tenure and descent of Gavelkind lands. The etymology of this word is in dispute. A plausible conjecture is that which gives it the signification of "holding of a family" from gavel, a thing held, as a speaker's gavel, and kind, a family or kindred: although the weight of authority favors the meaning, "land held for rent." Elton *Tenures of Kent*, 29, 239, Co. Lit. 142a.

This custom, which existed in a few isolated cases elsewhere in England, was general in Kent. By it the land of the father descended to all his sons in equal portions, "contrarie," as Lambard observes, "to the manner of the whole realme beside." Lord Coke says: "In no county of England lands at this day be of the nature of gavelkinde of common right, save Kent only."

Littleton says, §210:

"But in the shire of Kent, of lands holden in Gavelkinde, where, by the custom used time out of minde, the children males ought evenly to inherite, this custom is allowable, for this, that it is with some reason; because that every sonne is as great a gentleman as the eldest sonne

is, and because of that more great honour and valure shall growe than if he had nothing by his ancestors, or otherwise, peradventure he would not increase so much."

Somner on Gavelkind, pp. 89, 90, says: "The Kentishmen (the commons there, I mean), like the Londoners, more careful, in those days, to maintain their issue in the present, than their houses for the future, were more tenacious, tender and retentive of the present custom, and more careful to continue it, than generally those of other shires were; not because (as some give the reason) the younger be as good gentlemen as the elder brother (an argument proper perhaps for the partible land in Wales); but because it was land, which, by the nature of it, appertained not to the gentry, but to the yeomanry, whose name or cause they cared not so much to uphold by keeping the inheritance to the elder brother." "And this account," according to Mr. Robinson, "agrees well with the genius and temper of the people."

The Body of Liberties, Art. 8, adopts the Kentish custom so far as the division of the estate among all the sons is concerned, but gives the elder a double portion. This latter provision comes from Deuteronomy, ch. 21, v. 17.

Another most important incident to the Kentish tenure of Gavelkind was the freedom from escheat or forfeiture on attainder and execution for felony, expressed in the old rhyme in the Kentish custumal:

" The fader to the boughe,  
And the son to the ploughe;"

—and the freedom from all the vexatious burdens imposed on land by the feudal system for the benefit of the feudal superior. This is adopted in Body of Liberties, Art. 10, as follows:

"All our lands and heritages shall be free from all fines and licenses upon Alienations, and from all hariotts, ward-

ships, Liveries, Primer-seizins, yeare day and wast, Eacheates and forfeitures, upon the deaths of parents or ancestors, be they natural, casual or Juditiall."

The power to devise estates, and the age of alienation are likewise adopted from the Kentish custom with some modification. *Body of Liberties*, Arts. 11, 53. *Jackson v. Phillips*, 14 Allen, 561.

The wife's dower in land in the nature of Gavelkind was not forfeitable for her husband's felony. This exception to the common law of England also was included in the general language of Art. 10 of the *Body of Liberties*. But by the Kentish custom the widow forfeited her dower by marrying again or by fornication, according to the rhyme in the *Custumal*:

" He that doth turne or wende her,  
Let him also give unto her, or lende her."

This portion of the custom our Puritan fathers did not adopt.

It is also said in the *Custumal*: "Also they claime that no man ought to make an othe upon a booke (neither by distresse, nor by the power of the Lorde, nor his bailife) against his will, without the writ of the King," &c. This is enacted in *Body of Liberties*, Art. 3: "No man shall be urged to take any oath, or subscribe any articles, covenants or remonstrance, of a publique and Civill nature, but such as the Generall Court hath considered, allowed and required."

We shall not easily overrate the importance to our ancestors of the firm establishment of the Kentish custom in an English shire. If feudalism had in their day prevailed in England without an exception, it may well be doubted whether they would ever have attempted to establish a different system here. If they had, the difficulty of maintaining it against the influence and example of all England would have been very great. Their constant anxiety lest the limitation of the legislative power conferred

in the charter to the making laws not repugnant to the laws of England might be held by the English government to prevent the abolition of primogeniture was evidently very great. The strong desire of the magistrates and elders to withstand the popular pressure for the establishment of a code is recorded by Winthrop. He gives two reasons: 1st. They did "conceive that such laws would be fittest for us which should arise *pro re nata* upon occasions, &c., and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs, *consuetudines*. 2d. For that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, and that we were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practise and custom had been no transgression." The question was more than once raised whether the change in the law of descent was within the power conferred by the charter. In Connecticut in 1728, it was claimed by John Winthrop, great-grandson of the Massachusetts governor, that their ancient law of inheritance which allowed daughters to inherit was in violation of the law of England, and a decision of the Privy Council obtained sustaining his position. This decision was afterwards overruled, but for many years no settlement of intestate estates could be made in that colony with any confidence that it gave a title. Palfrey 4, 377. In the masterly paper put forth by the Massachusetts General Court in 1646, in reply to the remonstrance of Robert Child and others, in which the Court maintained that their government is "formed according to the charter and the fundamental and common laws and customs of England," they set these laws in one column and the corresponding laws of Massachusetts in another. They place in both columns "The eldest sonne is preferred before the younger in the ancestor's inheritance." This paper was doubtless intended as Dr. Palfrey says, "for effect abroad as well as

at home," and the adroit attempt to slur over and conceal this most fundamental difference clearly shows their sense of its importance and the danger from its being betrayed. The General Court say that some of their people "have lived in Kent, under the laws of Gavelkind, more repugnant to the common laws of England than any of ours." Unquestionably the existence of these laws of descent in an important English shire from remote antiquity was a most decisive consideration in favor of the New England construction of their own legislative power.

The copy of the custumal appended to Lambard's treatise is printed from a manuscript which he thinks was written in the reign of Edward I. It speaks of Edward, the son of Henry III., as then upon the throne. It ends: "These be the usages of Gavelkinde, and of Gavelkinde men in Kent, which were before the Conquest, and at the Conquest, and ever since till now." These customs are recognized by law writers in still earlier reigns, from Glanville, who wrote within less than a hundred years of the Conquest, down.

It is worth while to note, as showing the effect on the temper of the people of the general division and untrammelled ownership of land, that the three great insurrections—that of Wat Tyler in 1381, that of Jack Cade in 1450, and Sir Thomas Wyatt in 1554—broke out in Kent.

The importance and tenacity of local customs in England may be better understood, when we remember that there were but fourteen printed volumes of the decisions of the English courts before 1645; and that the whole of the statutes before the accession of James I. would not equal in bulk the laws of a single session at the present day. Among the books owned by Adam Winthrop, covered with his manuscript annotations, and, very probably, brought over by John Winthrop with the charter of Massachusetts, is Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, which contains the ancient custumal. It is one of the

most notable volumes in the history of liberty. Gov. Winthrop says in his *Discourse on Arbitrary Government*, 1644: "England is a state of long standing, yet we have had more positive and more wholesome lawes enacted in our short time than they had in many hundred yeares." The reports of the decisions of the courts before Winthrop's day are mostly in Norman French and are full of the subtleties and refinements of the Feudal law. Lambard's little treatise on the "Customes of Kent" is worth them all.

There is no better proof than the example of the New England states of the truth of Montesquieu's profound saying: "Land produces less by reason of its own fertility than of the freedom of its inhabitants." The equal division of landed estates was for us the sure and permanent foundation of that freedom. De Tocqueville, in discussing the difference between the early New England character and that of the people south of the Hudson, says:

"Great equality existed among the emigrants who settled on the shores of New England. The germ of aristocracy was never planted in that part of the Union. The only influence which obtained there was that of intellect; the people were used to reverence certain names as the emblems of knowledge and virtue. The law of descent was the last step to equality. I am surprised that ancient and modern jurists have not attributed to this law a greater influence on human affairs. It is true that these laws belong to civil affairs; but they ought nevertheless to be placed at the head of all political institutions; for, whilst political laws are only the symbol of a nation's condition, they exercise an incredible influence upon its social state. They have, moreover, a sure and uniform manner of operating upon society, affecting, as it were, generations yet unborn. Through their means man acquires a kind of preternatural power over the future lot of his fellow-creatures. When the legislator has regulated the law of inheritance, he may rest from his labor. The machine once put in motion will go on for ages, and advance, as if self-guided, towards a given point."



That this statement of the French philosopher is not exaggerated we may cite the testimony of Mr. Webster: "This necessary act" (the abolition of primogeniture) "fixed the future frame and form of their government."

Another principal benefaction of Kent to New England, and to history, is her preservation through the dark ages and against feudalism of that most interesting character whom we designate by the term Yeoman. The Yeoman is a type of humanity peculiar to England and to the northern American states. He is as distinct from the peasant proprietor of France or the boor of the North of Europe or the slaveholding Roman landholder of antiquity or the slaveholding planter of the South, on the one hand, as he is from the knight or nobleman or gentleman on the other. In England, the owner of his lands, or the holder on a long lease, on terms that give him practically an independent tenure, tilling them with his own hands, taking pride in his personal strength and ability for hard labor, brave, intelligent, with a strong sense of personal dignity, doffing his hat to no man, understanding and standing upon his rights, whoever assail them; in America adding to all this, enterprise, the love of adventure, hunger for the horizon, the development of intellect that comes from common school education, service on juries and in legislatures, the habit of dealing with and settling great public questions, and building and governing states; in both, the only permanent conjunction in history of labor and power; in both, making country life the most important element in national life,—it is to Kent that we must look, if not for his origin, at least for the best example of him which Europe affords. Hallam says, speaking of the Saxon socmen, or ceorls: "They are the root of a noble plant, the free socage tenants, or English Yeomanry, whose independence has stamped with peculiar features both our constitution and our national character." *Middle Ages*, vol. 2, ch. 8, part 1. This is doubtless to be attributed

partly to the especial character or quality of the race which occupied Kent, and partly to the customs of which we have spoken. The character of the men preserved the customs, and the customs preserved the character of the men.

Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, says that "The Yeomen in Kent bear away the belt for wealth from all of their rank in England. Yeomen are so called, saith a great antiquary,<sup>1</sup> from *gemein* which signifieth common in old Dutch, so that Yeoman is a Commoner, a condition of people almost peculiar to England; seeing in France, Italy and Spain no medium between gentlemen and peasants. Kent, as we have said, affordeth the richest in this kind, whence the rhyme :

' A knight of Cales, and a gentleman of Wales,  
And a laird of the north countree;  
A yeoman of Kent, with his yearly rent,  
Will buy them out all three.' "

Lambard says :

"The yeomanrie, or common people (for so they be called of the Saxon word *yemen* which signifieth common) is nowhere more free, and jolly, than in this shyre, for besides that they themselves say in a clayme (made by them in the time of King Edward the first) that the communaltie of Kent was never vanquished by the Conquerour, but yielded itselfe by composition, and besides that Gervasius affirmeth, that the forward in all battles belongeth to them (by a certain preëminence) in right of their manhood, it is agreed by all men, that there were never any bondmen (or villaines, as the law calleth them in Kent). Neither be they here so much bounden to the gentrie by Copyhold, or custumarie tenures, as the inhabitantes of the westernne countries of the Realme be, nor at all indangered by the feeble hold of tenant right (which is but a discent of a tenancie at will) as the common people in the northern parts be: for Copyhold tenure is rare in Kent, and tenant right not heard of at all: But in place of these the custome of Gavelkinde prevayling everywhere, in

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<sup>1</sup> Verstegan in his *Restoring of Decayed Intelligence*.

manner every man is a freeholder, and hath some part of his own to live upon. And in this their estate, they please themselves, and joy exceedingly, in so much, as a man may find sundry yeomen (although otherwise for wealth comparable with many of the gentle sort) that will not yet for all that change their condition nor desire to be apparayled with the titles of Gentry. Neither is this any cause of disdain or of alienation of good myndes of the one sort from the other, for no where else in al this realme is the common people more willingly governed. To be short, they be most commonly civil, just, and bountiful, so the estate of the old franklyns and yeomen of England, either yet liveth in Kent, or else it is quite dead and departed out of the realme for altogether."<sup>1</sup>

Walter Scott, who saw the different generations of past ages with the eye of a contemporary, and whose fiction, with that of Shakespeare, constitutes to so many readers the accepted history of England, never drew a truer stroke than in two passages in *Ivanhoe*, which show the contrast between the tillers of the soil in Kent and in other parts of the kingdom. The opening scene of the novel is laid in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the reign of Richard I. Gurth, who is a sturdy and brave fellow, afterward the squire of his young master, has a collar round his neck bearing the inscription: "Gurth, the son of Beowulph, is the born thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood." This was once pointed out by a famous orator as showing the condition from which the common people of England were rescued by commerce. But he did not observe the other scene, later in the story, where Wamba and the disguised King, in their jolly journey through the forest, sing the ballad of the Widow of Wycombe. The Knight of Tynedale, whose ancestors were men of great fame, and the Welshman with his long pedigree, come to woo the widow:

"And where was the widow would say them nay?"

She sends them both about their business:

<sup>1</sup> Lambard, *Perambulations of Kent*, p. 10, published 1576.

“ But then next came a yeoman, a yeoman of Kent,  
Jollily singing his roundelay;  
He spoke to the widow of living and rent,  
And where was the widow could say him nay?

So the knight and the squire were both left in the mire,  
There for to sing their roundelay;  
For a yeoman of Kent, with his yearly rent,  
There never was widow could say him nay.”

With the character of the Kentish yeoman it will be interesting to compare Wordsworth's charming description of the Dalesmen of the Lake country:—

“Towards the head of these dales was found a perfect republic of shepherds and agriculturists, among whom the plough of each man was confined to the maintenance of his own family, or to the occasional accommodation of his neighbour. Two or three cows furnished each family with milk and cheese. The chapel was the only edifice that presided over these dwellings, the supreme head of this pure commonwealth, the members of which existed in the midst of a powerful empire, like an ideal society or an organized community, whose constitution had been imposed and regulated by the mountains which protected it. Never high-born nobleman, knight, nor esquire was here; but many of these humble sons of the hills had a consciousness that the land, which they walked over and tilled, had for more than five hundred years been possessed by men of their name and blood; and venerable was the transition, when a curious traveller, descending from the heart of the mountains, had come to some ancient manorial residence in the more open parts of the vales, which, through the rights attached to its proprietors, connected the almost visionary mountain republic he had been contemplating with the substantial frame of society as existing in the laws and constitution of a mighty empire.”<sup>1</sup>

This yeoman of Kent was the historical predecessor of what a former president of this Society styles “the most substantial, uncorrupted and intelligent population on earth—the American Yeomanry.”

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<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth, *Scenery of the Lakes*, Prose Works, Vol. II., p. 268.

John Adams says in his *Discourse on Government*, Works 6, p. 456: "There are only two or three of the smallest cantons in Switzerland, besides England, who allow husbandmen to be citizens, or to have any voice or share in the government of the state, or in the choice or appointment of any who have."

"This class is fast disappearing from England."—Escott's *England*, ch. 11, p. 192.

There is another field of inquiry, or perhaps, as yet, only of speculation, which our topic suggests. That is, how far the Kentish physical characteristics have impressed themselves on New England. Mr. Mackintosh, whose remark as to the difference between the northwest and southeast portions of England has been already quoted, published in the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, New Series, Vol. I., 1861, a paper entitled *Results of Ethnological Observations made during the last Ten Years in England and Wales*. In January, 1866, the same author published in the *Anthropological Review* an essay in which he restates, expands and defends the conclusions previously announced. We will not undertake to enter upon the interesting and inexhaustible debate as to the comparative effect of social and moral influences on the one hand and those of race on the other in determining human history and human destiny. But this author's observations as to the Kentish type of Englishmen suggest a very curious field of reflection and inquiry in connection with our subject. You could hardly find a better delineation of the typical Yankee, not as he would describe himself, but as he appears in the comic picture, or the satire of our English or southern brethren, than in Mr. Mackintosh's *Kentishman*. Where does this Yankee come from? What is the origin of the Uncle Sam or the Brother Jonathan of the comic almanac, with his long limbs, his sharp nose and chin, his high cheek bones, his narrow shoulders and long head? We are in the habit of speaking of ourselves as

Saxons. Yet he certainly is not a Saxon. The Saxon is well described by Mackintosh in the Transactions of the Ethnological Society above referred to:—

“I have been led to suppose the following as Saxon characteristics: light brown or flaxen hair, rather broad semicircular forehead, nearly semicircular eyebrows, blue or bluish gray and prominent eyes, nearly straight nose of moderate length, rather short broad face [the term broad-faced Saxon is common on the continent], low cheek bones, excessively regular features, flat ears, head of a form between a short parallelogram and a round, figure smooth and free from projections, fingers, hands, arms and legs short, more or less tendency to obesity, especially in the epigastric region, in extreme cases giving rise to what is provincially called a corporation, moderate stature. According to the phrenological system (the convenience of which as a means of minutely describing the form of the head is acknowledged in the *Brit. Ass. Manual of Ethnological Enquiry*), moderate or rather small perceptive organs, small eventuality and individuality, large comparison, moderate causality, small wit, large benevolence, small veneration and hope, large firmness and conscientiousness, small secretiveness, small self-esteem and concentration, small adhesiveness. The mental peculiarities, which I have found to accompany the physical above stated, and which agree in the main with those historically assigned to the Saxon, and believed to characterize the Saxon in Germany and England, are the following:—slowness of perception (if asked to hold up the right hand will probably hold up the left till he has time to consider which is the right and which the left), more comprehensive than analytical, want of sanguine anticipation, union of self-reliance with meekness and absence of ambition, simple hearted and truthful, more general love than particular attachment, adapted to occupations in general rather than to one in particular, a disposition for pursuits admitting of variety; if he emigrates he can soon forget old associations and adapt himself to new circumstances.”<sup>1</sup>

The Yankee is popularly supposed to be the product of

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<sup>1</sup>Transactions of the Ethnological Society, 1861. Dr. Mackintosh's Ethnological Observations.

the New England climate. But a little reflection will refute this opinion. You may see many companies of persons in New England whose ancestors have been here for two hundred and forty or fifty years, among whom he does not appear; although you will probably hear the tones of his voice. Take as illustrations our three distinguished Chief Justices, Gray, Bigelow and Shaw, whose appearance is so well-known to most of us. Their ancestors in every line of descent have, we suppose, been here since the early settlement. They differ almost as much in physical appearance from the typical Yankee, with his high cheek bones, his long and sharp nose and chin, his high head, his long loosely set limbs, as they do from the Spaniard. Yet this Yankee is a very genuine and real existence. He appeared generations ago with all his peculiarities as distinctly marked as they are to-day. Where does he come from? Is he not the occasional reëpppearance, in accordance with some yet imperfectly understood law of heredity or atavism, of some one of the races which before the conquest made up the conglomerate called England? If this be true, may we not find him in Kent? Mr. Mackintosh in each of the essays before alluded to gives substantially the same description of the Kentishmen.

“The Saxon, according to the foregoing characteristics is not a predominating inhabitant of Kent. He is found in the interior of the Isle of Thanet (on the coast dark complexions are most prevalent) and in the neighborhood of Sandwich. The Saxon sword and battle axe found by the late Mr. Rolfe in Ozengel churchyard, I should regard as real Saxon, and not Jutian or Frisian.

On the south coast of Kent a large proportion of the inhabitants probably resemble those on the opposite shore of the English Channel. On the north coast and scattered through the interior a type to which I shall venture to apply the term Frisian is very common. This face is very much English, certainly as much so as the Saxon face; and linguistic investigations would seem to point to the conclusion that England has been largely colonized from Friesland.

The Frisian type is characterized by a very fair complexion, oval countenance, rather prominent features, narrow head, long neck, narrow shoulders and chest, the broadest part of the frame being where the legs join the body, rather small perceptive and reflective faculties, little reverence and great firmness, giving rise to self-complacency and independence of authority.

In the interior of Kent, especially about Tonbridge, the predominating type is distinctly marked, and I think may be safely called Jutian. It is the same as that prevailing in the eastern part of the Isle of Wight; and Mr. Roach Smith has lately found that the sepulchral remains of some parts of Kent and the Isle of Wight are identical. I believe this eminent antiquarian is now convinced of the necessity for making a distinction between Jute and Saxon. The Jutian characteristics, which are to be met with not only in Kent, but in many parts along the east coast of England and Scotland, may be stated as follows:—very complex profile, narrow face, head narrow, rather elongated and very much rounded off at the sides, very long neck, narrow shoulders and chest, springing gait, frequently tall, especially in the Isle of Wight, large perceptive and rather small reflective faculties, adaptation to the practical affairs of life accompanying deficient imagination. In reference to the narrow shoulders of the Jute and Frisian I may direct attention to the statement made by Polwhele in his *History of Cornwall*, to the effect that one thousand Cornishmen, in course of being drilled at Chatham, about the time of the French Revolution, took up considerably more ground than the same number of Kent men; and I may likewise mention that the late venerable Archdeacon Williams informed me that he was once present in a regiment in Cardiganshire when it was observed that 1000 Welshmen required as much ground as 1200 Midland county men.

Before leaving Kent I may remark that the termination *ing* is the most common in the central districts, and that it is likewise the most prevalent termination of the names of places in Jutland.”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Mackintosh further says: “In Kent, I have heard

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<sup>1</sup> Transactions of the Ethnological Society. New Series. Vol. I., pp. 13, 14.



of old songs and traditions, which imply that the inhabitants did not formerly regard themselves as Saxons.”<sup>1</sup>

To make a statement of the contribution of Kent to Yankee speech would require more space than we can give to it in this report. The material for thorough investigation of this point is not within our reach. It is understood that a dictionary of words and phrases peculiar to Kent is now in preparation in England. Meantime we will quote one or two sentences from the introduction to Mr. Holloway's Provincial Dictionary, 1838. Speaking of Sussex he says: “When we travel eastward in this county,” that is when we approach Kent, “we find a change. To show the broad mode of speech here, we may adduce the following instances, as thus :

Impiety	is pronounced	Impierty.
Deity		Deirty.
Pliable		Pliarble.
Devilish		Devirlish.

A is frequently pronounced like E, as

Satisfaction	Satisfecion.
Wax	Wex.
Manifold	Menifold.
James	Jeemes.
Firepan	Firepen.
Salvation	Selvation.

In words ending in en, the last syllable is frequently dropped, as sharp for sharpen — “sharp the knife.”

In compound substantives the emphasis is almost invariably laid on the first syllable, as firepan is pronounced fire'pan, hop-pole, hopple.

O is often changed into A, as top is called tap; sop, sap; crop, crap.

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<sup>1</sup> *Anthropological Review*, Vol. IV., p. 19.

Kent, in the part which immediately adjoins Sussex, participates in the same peculiarities. \* \* \* Here, as well as in East Sussex, *be* is used for *am*, *is*, *are*. *I be*; *he be*; *you or we be*; and *were* is used in the singular for *was*. '*I were there*; *he were not there*.' Words of two syllables, having a double *R*, are pronounced as one long syllable, as thus: *barrow*, *barr-r*; *sparrow*, *sparr-r*; *farrow*, *farr-r*; *carry*, *carr-r*. In East Sussex and here, for anywhere, somewhere, they say *anywheres*, *somewheres*."

Mr. Holloway does not give many Kentish provincialisms, as compared with the number of such words attributed to other shires. But we recognize our old Yankee friends, *slick*, for sleek or smooth; *swath*, *swarth*, a row of grass left on the ground by the mower; *grub*, for food; *bail*, the handle of a pail; *agen*, for against; *argufy*, for argue; along used as in the phrase, *all along of you*; *bar-way*, the passage into a field where the bars are removed; *bat*, a large stick; *biddy*, a chicken; *bay*, the space between two beams; *by-gorries* and *by-gollies*, a sort of oath; *botch*, to do any thing badly; *bodily*, for entire; *bolt*, to swallow whole, and fast; *bolt-upright*; *booby-hutch*, a clumsy carriage; *boosy*, drunk; *brand-new*; *buck*, the body of a cart or wagon; *cess*, a tax, *cess-pool*; *cheeses*, the seed of the mullen; *moonshine*, for illicit spirits. These, and some others Mr. Holloway gives as peculiar to Kent or Sussex, although in a few instances he cites one or two of the neighboring shires as also using them.

Mr. Holloway also gives as Kentish provincialisms, the use of *v* for *w* and *w* for *v*, with which Dickens has made us familiar, and the dropping the letter *h* from the place where it belongs and placing it before vowels where it does not belong, so common to all uneducated Englishmen. Why these vulgarisms have not crossed the Atlantic we have never seen explained. Mr. Richard Grant White maintains that the latter was universal in England until seventy-five years ago. It is older than the language.

Catullus marked it for satire in his epigram on Arrius which is thus translated by Mr. Nott :

“ON ARRIUS.

When Arrius would *commodius* say,  
*Chommodius* always was his way ;  
 And when *insidious* he would name,  
 Straight from his lips *hinsidious* came :  
 Nay more, he thought, with that strong swell,  
 He spoke *hinsidious* wondrous well.  
 His uncle Liber, and his mother,  
 I doubt not, so address'd each other ;  
 And that his grandsire, and grandame,  
 By female line, did just the same.  
 When Arrius was to Syria sent,  
 Each wearied ear became content :  
 But now no more these words displease,  
 Pronounced with neatness and with ease ;  
 Of aspiration no one thought ;  
 When sudden this dread news was brought,  
 That Arrius was return'd, and, strange !  
 Had dared th' Ionian sea to change ;  
 For 'twas no more th' *Ionian* sea,  
 But the *Hionian*, from that day.”

—Translation of Catullus. Nott.

The pilgrimages to Canterbury have also led to the creation of several words and phrases which still hold a place in our language. But these are not peculiar to Kentish men.<sup>1</sup>

No list has yet been made which shows, by shires, the origin of the emigrants who came to New England in the first thirty years of the settlement, even so far as the knowledge we have might enable it to be done. Mr. Mackintosh finds the Jutian graduating into what he calls the Danish type in North Kent, “but chiefly in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and above all, in Lincolnshire.” If this observation be accurate, the greater number of our early settlers must have been

<sup>1</sup>Fuller Worthies, Kent Proverbs, Dean Stanley's Memorials, Canterbury, 187.

supplied from districts where the Saxon element was very small. But the contribution of Kent itself was very considerable. We append a list of fifty-four names of Kentish men who founded families here, taken from Savage's *Genealogies*, by Mr. Geo. S. Taft, of Uxbridge. Among them are the names of Robert Cushman, of Simon Willard and Daniel Gookin, of Robert Child and Dolor Davis, and many other well-known names of the ancestors of a numerous progeny. Other researches largely extend the list taken from Savage. The early settlers of Scituate were principally from Kent, many of them ship-builders. Baylies' *New Plymouth*, Part 1, p. 283, Part 2, p. 257. In the Kentish pedigrees occur many names familiar here, as Sumner, Deering, Hale, Norton, Wood and others.

LIST OF KENTISH EMIGRANTS TO NEW ENGLAND,  
FROM SAVAGE.

AUSTIN, JOSIAH.	EPES, DANIEL.
BAKER, SAMUEL.	EVERDEN, WALTER.
BATCHELLOR, HENRY (and others.)	EWELL, HENRY.
BATES, CLEMENT.	FANNETT, ———.
BESBRIDGE, THOMAS.	FESSENDEN, JOHN.
BEST, JOHN.	FOSTER, EDWARD (perhaps).
BONNEY, THOMAS.	GOODHUE, NICHOLAS (and William).
BORDEN, BRYANT.	GOOKIN, DANIEL.
BOURNE, THOMAS.	GOULD, EDWARD.
BOYKETT, JARVIS.	GRAVES, THOMAS.
BRIGDEN, THOMAS.	HALL, SAMUEL.
BROOKS, ROBERT.	HATCH, WILLIAM.
BUTLER, NATHANIEL.	HAYWOOD, THOMAS.
CALL, THOMAS.	HINCKLEY, SAMUEL.
CHAMPION, THOMAS.	HODLEY, ABRAHAM.
CHEEVER, BARTHOLEMEW.	HOSMER, JAMES.
CHILD, ROBERT.	HUDSON, FRANCIS (and Daniel).
CHITTENDEN, THOMAS.	HUMPHREY, JOHN.
COBB, HENRY (probably).	HYLAND, THOMAS.
COLE, ISAAC.	JOHNSON, EDWARD.
CUSHMAN, ROBERT.	JONES, WILLIAM.
DAVIS, DOLOR (probably).	JORDAN, THOMAS.
DUNK, THOMAS.	JOSSELYN, ABRAHAM.
EATON, WILLIAM.	LARGE, JARVIS.

LEEDS, JOHN.  
LEWIS, GEORGE (and John).  
LOMBARD, RICHARD.  
LOTHROP, JOHN (perhaps).  
MANN, WILLIAM.  
MARSHALL, JOHN.  
MASON, ELIAS.  
MUSSELL, JOHN.  
OVELL, NATHANIEL.  
PARTRIDGE, OLIVER.  
PIERCE, MARMADUKE.  
RICHARDSON, HENRY.  
ROOT, JOSIAH.  
RUSSELL, GEORGE.

SAYER, JAMES.  
SMITH, MATTHEW.  
STAR, COMFORT (and Thos.).  
STETSON, ROBERT.  
STOW, JOHN.  
SYMME, ZECHARIAH.  
TICHNOR, WILLIAM.  
TILDEN, NATHANIEL (and others).  
TWISDEN, JOHN.  
WETHERELL, WILLIAM.  
WHITE, EDWARD.  
WHITRED, WILLIAM.  
WILLARD, SIMON (and Richard).  
WYBORNE, THOMAS.

We do not offer what we have written as an adequate treatment of this interesting subject. Still less do we wish to be understood as adopting, in all their detail, the conclusions of the writers we have cited. But the repeated preservation, against the greatest odds, under most adverse conditions, by a little handful of people, of the laws of descent which have made republican institutions possible, and of those vigorous and robust qualities which have enabled this hardy northern race again and again so to impress itself upon the nations of which it formed a part,

" Giving the children of the pine  
Dominion o'er the palm and vine,"

is a historic fact of the greatest interest.

Mr. Motley in his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. I., p. 21, says of the Conquest of the Frisians by Charlemagne in the year 785 :

"Charlemagne left them their name of free Frisians, and the property in their own land. The feudal system never took root in their soil. 'The Frisians,' says their statute book, 'shall be free as long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands.' They agreed, however, to obey the chiefs whom the Frank monarch should appoint to govern them, according to their own laws. Those laws were collated and are still extant. The vernacular version of their Asegar book contains their ancient customs together with the Frank additions. The

general statutes of Charlemagne were, of course, in vigor also ; but that great legislator knew too well the importance attached by all mankind to local customs, to allow his imperial capitulars to interfere, unnecessarily, with the Frisian laws."

The laws which just eleven hundred years ago, the free Frisians maintained against Charlemagne, their descendants kept against the Conqueror and the whole power of English feudalism, until they crossed the sea with John Winthrop to become, through the prudence and steadfastness of the statesmen of his little commonwealth, the sure foundation of the American republic.

For the Council.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

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IN accordance with the requirements of Article IV. of the By-Laws, the Treasurer respectfully submits his semi-annual report, made up to April 18, 1885.

*The Librarian's and General Fund* now amounts to \$40,116.10, having been increased \$10,000 since the last report, by the receipt of the legacy of our late honored President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, LL.D. The \$10,000 has not yet been invested but is on deposit and bearing interest, till the Finance Committee shall find an opportunity for its safe investment. It will be seen that a larger amount than usual has been expended from this fund. This is owing to the charge of \$500 made by the County of Worcester for furnishing steam heat to the hall in the winter of 1883-84 and which has been paid during the past six months. The Society now have in operation their own steam apparatus, and have been enabled to heat the building to much better satisfaction than before, and it is hoped at less annual cost.

*The Collection and Research Fund* now amounts to \$18,078.03, a slight increase from the sum reported in October last. Owing to the lack of income from the Librarian's and General Fund it has been found necessary for several years past to charge a part of the salaries of the librarian and assistants to this fund.

*The Bookbinding Fund* now amounts to \$6,140.14. There has been charged to this fund, as has been the custom for many years, a part of the salary of the assistant-librarian, on the ground that much of his work is in the

preparation of newspapers and periodicals for binding. It is hoped that in the near future the income of the Librarian's and General Fund will be enough to charge the whole of the assistant's salary to that fund. The sum of \$84, a part of the income of the Tenney Fund, has been credited to the Bookbinding Fund.

*The Publishing Fund*, increased \$10,000 by the legacy of Mr. Salisbury, which was paid to the Treasurer in December last, now amounts to \$18,688.99. Publications of the Society to the amount of \$40.50 have been sold during the past six months, and \$51.14 has been transferred to this fund from the income of the Tenney Fund. Besides the usual expenditure for printing the "Proceedings," one hundred dollars has been paid to Mr. F. L. Stuart of Boston for his very successful steel plate portrait of our late President.

*The Isaac Davis Book Fund*, after the small charge made to it the past six months on account of books purchased, is \$1,601.77.

*The Lincoln Legacy Fund* is increased by the usual income and now amounts to \$2,244.97.

*The B. F. Thomas Local History Fund* is now \$1,151.90; a small amount has been charged to the fund for the purchase of local histories.

*The Alden Fund* of \$1,000 was a legacy from our late associate, Ebenezer Alden, M.D., "for the benefit of the library, especially in preparing catalogues." It now amounts to \$1,216.88. The fund has been charged with \$28.12 for expense incurred in the preparation of manuscript matter for cataloguing.

*The Salisbury Building Fund* has been reduced the past six months to \$256.80. Of the amount expended (\$1,365.68), about \$1,000 was for the new boiler and necessary steam piping in the arrangements for heating the rooms of the Society. It will be remembered that this fund was established by our late President, in June, 1867,



by the gift of eight thousand dollars, "to be held till by accumulation of income and otherwise it should become sufficiently large to defray the expense of erecting the desirable addition to Antiquarian Hall." Mr. Salisbury at the same time presented to the Society 1,782 square feet of land, in rear of their hall, for the proposed addition. The fund in 1877, at the time the new part of the building was contracted for, had increased to nearly \$14,000, and the amount remaining after the completion of the work was about \$2,100. This sum has since been held, by consent of the giver, for expense incurred in general repairs of the building, and has demonstrated the usefulness of such a fund.

*The Tenney Fund* remains as at the last report, \$5,000. The income of this fund has, by vote of the Council, been used in such department of Society work as seemed most desirable, and for the six months now ended has been divided between the Publishing and Bookbinding Funds.

*The Haven Fund* by the addition of interest now amounts to \$1,125.05; and the George Chandler Fund to \$517.74.

A temporary fund has been established for the purpose of paying the expense incurred in printing the Lechford MS. Note Book, to which the attention of the Society has often been called. The sum of \$970 has been subscribed by members of the Society for this fund, of which \$674 has been paid to the Treasurer, and appears in his account. Some five hundred dollars more is needed to make up the sum necessary for the publication, which if not obtained by private subscription, must be drawn from our Publishing Fund, which, notwithstanding its increase, is none too large for the regular demands upon it. It has been suggested that possibly some arrangement may be made by which some part of the income of the Lincoln Legacy Fund can be made available for this and similar objects, and a committee has been appointed to investigate the matter.

## STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

*The Librarian's and General Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$30,686.78	
" Dec. 31.	Legacy of Stephen Salisbury,.....	10,000.00	
1885, April 18.	Assessments to date,.....	75.00	
" " "	Income from investments,.....	1,202.10	
		<u>\$41,943.88</u>	
1885, April 18.	Paid salaries and incidental ex- penses,.....	\$1,055.28	
" " "	Paid for heating building, 1884-85, .....	762.50	
		<u>\$1,827.78</u>	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$40,116.10

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$9,600.00
Railroad Stock,.....	2,000.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	9,200.00
Worcester Gas Co. Stock,.....	500.00
Mortgage Notes,.....	9,800.00
Cash,.....	9,516.10
	<u>\$40,116.10</u>

*The Collection and Research Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$17,964.10	
1885, April 18.	Income from investments to date,.....	597.70	
" " "	Books sold,.....	133.90	
		<u>\$18,695.60</u>	
	Paid part of salary of Librarian and Assistant,.....	\$533.33	
	Paid for incidental expenses,...	84.24	
		<u>\$617.57</u>	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$18,078.03

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock, .....	\$5,200.00
Railroad Stock,.....	5,300.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	4,000.00
Mortgage Note,.....	2,150.00
Cash,.....	1,428.03
	<u>\$18,078.03</u>

*The Bookbinding Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$6,110.47	
1885, April 18.	Income from investments to date,.....	280.66	
" " "	Income transferred from Tenney Fund,..	84.00	
		<u>\$6,475.13</u>	
" " "	Paid for binding,.....	\$ 85.00	
	Paid Assistant-Librarian,.....	249.99	
		<u>\$334.99</u>	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$6,140.14

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,700.00
Railroad Stock,.....	800.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	2,600.00
Cash,.....	40.14
	<u>\$6,140.14</u>

*The Publishing Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$8,685.22	
1885, Jan'y 3.	Legacy of Stephen Salisbury,.....	10,000.00	
" April 18.	Income from investments to date,.....	848.45	
" " "	Publications sold,.....	40.50	
" " "	Tenney Fund,.....	51.14	
		<u>\$19,125.31</u>	
" " "	Paid for printing "Proceedings" including steel plate portrait of President Salis- bury, .....	\$436 32	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$18,688.99

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,100.00
Railroad Bonds, .....	5,500.00
City Bond, .....	1,000.00
Mortgage Note,.....	10,000.00
Cash,.....	88.99
	<u>\$18,688.99</u>

*The Isaac Davis Book Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,575.40	
1885, April 18.	Income of investment to date,.....	45.32	
		<u>\$1,620.72</u>	
" " "	Paid for books,.....	18.95	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$1,601.77

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock,.....	\$700.00
Railroad Stock,.....	800.00
Cash,.....	101.77
	<hr/>
	\$1,601.77

*The Lincoln Legacy Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$2,150.65	
1885, April 18.	Income to date,.....	94.32	
		<hr/>	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$2,244.97

*Invested in :*

Bank Stock, .....	\$2,100.00
Cash,.....	144.97
	<hr/>
	\$2,244.97

*The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,125.65	
1885, April 18.	Income to date,.....	35.00	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,160.65	
" " "	Paid for local histories,.....	8.75	
		<hr/>	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$1,151.90

*Invested in :*

Railroad Bond,.....	\$1,000.00
Cash,.....	151.90
	<hr/>
	\$1,151.90

*The Alden Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,210.00	
1885, April 18.	Income of investment to date,.....	35.00	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,245.00	
" " "	Paid on account of cataloguing.....	28.12	
		<hr/>	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$1,216.88

*Invested in :*

Railroad Bond, .....	\$1,000.00
Cash,.....	216.88
	<hr/>
	\$1,216.88

*The Salisbury Building Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,563.82	
1885, April 18.	Income of investment to date,.....	58.66	
		<hr/>	
	Paid for boiler and steam heating apparatus and work on the building,.....	\$1,622.48	
		1,385.68	
		<hr/>	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund (in cash),....		\$256.80

*The Tenney Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$5,000.00	
1885, April 18.	Income to date,.....	135.14	
		<hr/>	
	Transferred to Bookbinding and Publishing Funds, .....	\$5,135.14	
		135.14	
" " "	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$5,000.00

*Invested in :*

Mortgage Notes,.....	\$5,000.00
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*The Haven Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,103.21	
1885, April 18.	Income of Fund,.....	21.84	
		<hr/>	
" " "	Present amount of Fund (deposited in Savings Bank),.....		\$1,125.05

*The George Chandler Fund.*

1884, Oct. 17.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$507.70	
1885, April 18.	Income of Fund,.....	10.04	
		<hr/>	
" " "	Present amount of Fund,.....		\$517.74

*Invested in :*

Savings Bank, .....	\$515.04
Cash,.....	2.70
	<hr/>
	\$517.74

Total of the twelve Funds,.....	<hr/> <hr/>
	\$96,133.37

*Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement :*

Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$9,516.10
Collection and Research Fund,.....	1,428.08
Bookbinding Fund,.....	40.14
Publishing Fund,.....	88.99
Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	101.77
Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	144.97
Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	151.90
Alden Fund,.....	216.88
Salisbury Building Fund, .....	256.80
George Chandler Fund,.....	2.70
	<hr/>
	\$11,948.28
For publication of Lechford MS.,.....	674.00
	<hr/>
	<u>\$12,622.28</u>

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, April 18, 1885.

*Report of the Auditors.*

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 18, 1885, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him for the several Funds are as stated, and that the balance on hand is accounted for.

CHARLES A. CHASE.  
WM. A. SMITH.

WORCESTER, April 21, 1885.

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

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YOUR Librarian desires to preface his report with an expression of grateful appreciation, not only of the faithful coöperation of his daily fellow-workers, but also of the vigilant care of the Council Committee who are charged with the general direction of library affairs.

In some respects the past six months have been of marked importance in the history and development of the Society. From every point of view our progress during this, the busiest period we have known, has certainly been quite satisfactory. We have good reason to believe that these steps in advance will never be retraced. The action of the Council, September 2, 1884, empowering Messrs. Salisbury and Paine to make arrangements for heating the library building, resulted in safely enclosing a Stewart low-pressure boiler of ample power under the south side of the Salisbury annex, the repairing of all the steam pipes and radiators, and the engagement of an intelligent engineer and janitor. The roof and windows have also received careful attention, gas has been for the first time introduced into the main and duplicate halls, and fixtures supplied for them as well as for the rooms already piped. The office has been especially favored with two heavy brass chandeliers of early design, the gift of the chairman of the committee, and is now the well-furnished, long-desired, always available Council chamber. The introduction of gas has made it possible to keep longer hours during the short winter days, and the control of our home-made steam has enabled us to share with our guests a temperature at once safe and agreeable. On the twenty-third of last January,

Miss Eleanore Webb, under the more especial supervision of Mr. Colton and the Library Committee, began the examination and classification of the Society's important collection of manuscripts. In this oft-perplexing work she has proved herself a patient, intelligent and ready scholar. The Andrew Cragie, the William Paine and such of the Isaiah Thomas papers as remain in the possession of the Society, have already been assorted. The Allen, Baldwin, Bentley, Lancaster, Lincoln, Mather, Porter and other papers await their turn. When all this material is properly arranged and carefully indexed, our debt of gratitude to the late Dr. Ebenezer Alden will not be measured by the amount of the fund, but by the importance of the work which his wise forethought has enabled us to accomplish. The importance of shelving the north-east lobby below for the bound and unbound manuscripts—possibly surmounting drawers for portraits, photographs, plans, maps, engravings and drawings—will become more and more manifest.

In preparing for the Smithsonian Institution a list of our portraits of the scientific men of the world, attention has again been called both to the extent and value of the collection and to the importance of improving its condition. The portraits are now alphabetically arranged, so that the question whether we have in our portfolios the likeness of any given person can be promptly answered. Many of them, however, need cleaning, repairing or mounting; and all, after careful indexing, should be placed in shallow drawers, or possibly in wall pockets to be made for that purpose. Contributions are especially solicited for this interesting and inclusive department, into which we should like to gather not only such rarities as Nanteuil's Pomponne and Wight's Humboldt, but Marshall's Washington and Lincoln, heads cut from bank notes and newspapers, and even the advertising and caricature portraits of all time. Even the Greeley campaign fan portrait with the flaxen, flowing locks is one of the best Greeley heads, presenting



a most striking picture of that great journalist. Our associate, Mr. Winsor, has here found and had photographed for his "Narrative and Critical History of America," rare likenesses as well as other valuable illustrations. The index to the portraits to be found in connection with magazine literature, now in course of preparation, may lead to a larger and more general work upon the subject. Thus librarians may have at hand answers to questions in portraiture by which they have been puzzled in times past, and at the same time a better market be made for duplicates. It should be observed that local lists like our Treasurer, Mr. Paine's, "Portraits and Busts in the American Antiquarian Society and other Associations in Worcester," have been of steady use and have led to the call for something broader in character and field. The American Biographical Dictionary of the future should greatly add to its value by including this important information. The subject reminds your librarian of his strenuous efforts made during the bi-centennial year of Worcester, to secure a likeness of her historian and our librarian, William Lincoln, who was referred to at length in the report of last October. Although the portrait has not been secured the following facts have been obtained: Mr. Lincoln gave to a young lady who afterwards removed to the western country a daguerreotype of himself, which his namesake, General William S. Lincoln, says closely resembled Levi Lincoln, senior, the Attorney-General of the United States, of whom a fine oil portrait exists. The William Lincoln head is not known to have been copied; but his friend's family, who are connections of the Denny's, removed to Boston and vicinity, where it is barely possible it may be found.

The town maps have been placed alphabetically, and those of a more general character classified by countries. A beginning has been made in the arrangement of miscellaneous engravings, photographs and such matters, but time

and money, as already suggested, will be required for their proper treatment.

The reciprocal relations between giver and receiver have been constantly encouraged and found to work much good, especially among our own members, who have been urged to become better acquainted with the library by more frequently using their rights. As scholars who are not members pay no dues, it would appear but just, when we to any extent assist them in their work, that they should give us the printed results of their labors.

A library reciprocity treaty is one of the things whose coming it would seem requires no prophet to foretell. The reunions of the American Library Association have not only helped to a better knowledge of each other, but have given us to know somewhat of the strong and weak points of the libraries therein represented. Since the lack of funds will not allow the perfecting of our own, it will be pleasant to send scholars who are, for instance, in search of their English ancestry, from using our royal alcove of English county histories to the Worcester Free Public Library, knowing as we do that the latter is aiming, not to duplicate but to supplement our collection, with these—to the genealogist—expensive necessities. Our national character sometimes leads local societies to apply for facts biographical, genealogical, historical or statistical, and we have thought it a part of our mission to pay respectful attention to such, when within our power. The service rendered the past six months to members and friends has been unusual in quantity and variety. Our card cataloguer, Miss Mary Robinson, has faithfully used some of her extra time in the employ of our associates, Messrs. George H. Moore, William B. Weeden and others, copying manuscript material, by permission of the Council. She has also assisted some persons living at a distance from the library by long and careful examinations of newspaper files, thus farther developing her natural powers of quick

and accurate perception, for the Society's benefit as well as her own.

When the new National Library building is an accomplished fact, we hope to be able to make, on exchange account, large additions to the files of American newspapers, there so wisely held, and thus relieve the attic storeroom of the great weight which now rests upon it. An effort will first be made, and is in fact already begun, to place the local papers in the libraries of the towns whence they were issued, especially in cases where there is a fair promise of their being carefully preserved. This will be a comparatively easy matter where the trustees are interested in the collection and preservation of materials for local history. As a case in point, it may be proper to refer to the Lancaster Library, to whose care we have lately committed rare numbers of the *Lancaster Gazette*. In the custody of such Trustees as Messrs. Bartol, Thayer and Nourse, they will be both useful and safe. The Merrick Library of Brookfield has now under consideration an opportunity to obtain from us what, it is quite safe to say, cannot be duplicated outside the Society's library. The newspapers are, first, a file covering the period 1794-1796, of Isaiah Thomas and Elisha H. Waldo's *Worcester Intelligencer* and *Brookfield Advertiser*, afterwards called the *Worcester County Intelligencer* and *Brookfield Advertiser*, and still later, when Mr. Thomas had sold his interest to Mr. Waldo, known as the *Moral and Political Telegraphe* or *Brookfield Advertiser*. We have at the same time offered with it the *Political Repository* and *Farmer's Journal*, 1798-1802, printed in the same town by Ebenezer Merriam and Company. While our collection of duplicate newspapers largely consists of those of the older towns and cities of Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, nearly all the States are represented. It is chiefly as a suggestive illustration that the Brookfield case has been mentioned; another attempt to place duplicate mate-

rial where most needed. Our extended membership may serve this Society and their communities by furthering such efforts.

The special advantage of having somewhere sets of the Proceedings of learned societies which are more than merely complete, has been recently illustrated by the facts and dates of importance found by a member in our own volumes. Bonds, certificates, circulars, invitations and even the notices of Council and Society meetings, have been chronologically arranged therein. Mr. Sibley, librarian emeritus of Harvard College, once said, "we have the finest set of your Proceedings in existence," and it certainly is one of the best. Not because each number is stainless and uncut, nor that the early volumes are stilted in binding, nor that they are in elegant tree calf or turkey morocco, but that the extras, the minutiae, were gathered from the year 1812 and placed. Such painstaking effort requires time not always at the disposal of librarians. Happy the society which has among its members those whose time, talents and tastes lead them to work in their special fields, whether broad or narrow, for its benefit. While it is certainly a rare pleasure to possess a fine Aldus, Elzevir or Pickering, one is sometimes more inclined to envy those who, like our industrious Treasurer, have so enriched good books by mounting, inlaying, illustrating, illuminating and generally adding to them, that they have become not only unique but invaluable.

In order to complete his copy of the Massachusetts Laws of the rare edition of 1660, Dr. George H. Moore has been allowed to have photographed certain pages of our Secretary Rawson copy, that they may be photo-lithographed. In thanking the Society for its great kindness in the matter, he says "It will enable me very soon to boast of having the finest copy of the volume in existence, unless that copy in England, of which I have learned, is also uncut."

Following Dr. Moore's critical paper upon the History

of Witchcraft in Massachusetts, the question was frequently asked, "When shall you publish Cotton Mather's account of the trial of Mercy Short?" It has already been copied from our original manuscript, and should see the light at an early day, under the editorial supervision of such students of the witchcraft problem as Drs. Poole and Moore.

Thanks are extended to members for their prompt answers to questions made necessary by the preparation of the new list of members about to be published with the *Proceedings* of this meeting. If a brief biographical sketch of each one of our members could be filed with the letter of acceptance, we should have, up to that time, reliable data, and additions could be made at any time. When our voluminous correspondence from 1812 to date, is arranged in volumes and carefully indexed, much biographical as well as other important material will appear.

In common with other societies, which have been benefited by his abundant bibliographical labors, we may well deplore the early death of Mr. Stephen B. Noyes, late librarian of the Brooklyn Library, who died March 8, 1885. His "Catalogue of the Brooklyn Library, Authors, Subjects and Classes," in double column, folio, of eleven hundred pages, will be an enduring monument to his industry and accuracy. In it his first prefatory note was dated March, 1877, and the last December, 1880. As has been well said, "His object was to marry the classical and dictionary systems so long kept asunder." The union may be called a happy one. Few libraries can afford either the time or the money necessary to bring out such bibliographical wonders, and, it may be added, few men like Messrs. Cutter and Noyes have been found to superintend their preparation and publication.

The effort to add to our library, by a wise exchange of duplicates, has been successfully continued though not on so large a scale as usual. College pamphlets and periodi-

cal literature have been much sought after. All our Columbia College duplicates have been sent to the chief librarian, Mr. Melvil Dewey, who says truly, "We are more likely to want them than you, and if you will send them to me I shall be glad to give you something you will value more." Through Judge Thomas L. Nelson of the Library Committee of the Worcester County Bar Association, and by direction of our Library Committee, the Massachusetts folio Sessions Laws, 1780-1783 and 1786-89, have been transferred by an exchange to their Law Library, thus completing a set from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time. The library is but a stone's throw from our own, and is in a fire-proof building. As before mentioned the Lancaster Town Library has been assisted, to some extent, by rarities through the intervention of our associate, Hon. Henry S. Nourse. In each of the two cases last named an exception was made, to prove the rule that nothing but duplicates should be disposed of. As representing the history of caricature, about a dozen volumes of Puck have been secured by exchange. Both our sales and exchanges have been helped by the use of the Bookmart, a Pittsburgh, Pa., magazine devoted to the individual interests of the public in the purchase, exchange or sale of books. It has successfully carried out certain plans suggested by our experience, among them being an odd volume department. The so-called Kentucky mummy having been placed in the custody of the Smithsonian Institution at the Centennial Exposition of 1876, and having been at a later date transferred to it by exchange, the correspondence relating to its discovery, journeyings and presentation have been allowed to join the *subject* to which they relate. In acknowledging their receipt, Dr. Baird says, "Thanking the Society for their courtesy, I beg to say that we shall publish at no distant period all the information in regard to the specimens contained in the document referred to."

It may be considered your Librarian's special duty to state what in particular you ought to be thankful for in connection with the work over which you have placed him, and in general to report upon matters pertaining to library economy, leaving the learned members who precede and follow him, to discourse upon subjects of a different character. Having touched upon the latter, your attention is called to the former as recorded in the appendix containing the full list of donors and donations, and more carefully to some suggestive hints connected with those especially mentioned in the body of this report. Thirty-six members have presented works of their own, and twenty-three those of others, making a total of fifty-nine. Six have remembered our earnestly expressed desire for cabinet or other photographs; two, Major Poore and Dr. Ashbel Woodward, have followed the good example of others and have deposited sets of their own publications, Dr. Woodward sending them in duplicate; and four, Messrs. Aldrich, Horace Davis, Stephen Salisbury and Winthrop, have answered calls for reprints from our Proceedings. Judge Campbell, President Gilman, Hon. Edward L. Davis—both on his own account and as one of the executors of his father's estate—and Drs. Green and Salisbury, whose gifts are not hereinafter referred to, deserve especial mention on account of the value of their contributions. These with ninety-seven persons not members and eighty-four societies and institutions, give us a grand total of two hundred and forty donors during the past six months. The general statement of accessions is as follows: By gift, ten hundred and nineteen books, forty-nine hundred and ninety-five pamphlets, ten bound and one hundred and five unbound volumes of newspapers, twenty photographs, sixty-five coins, five bound volumes of manuscript letters, three chandeliers, two oil portraits, seven engravings, two fire buckets, two medals, two heliotypes and two bank bills. By exchange, one hundred and sixteen books, three hun-

dred and forty-seven pamphlets and ten volumes of newspapers. From the binder eight volumes of magazines, and by purchase with the Collection and Research, Davis and Thomas funds, forty-eight books and three hundred and five pamphlets. Total, eleven hundred and ninety-one books, fifty-six hundred and forty-seven pamphlets, ten bound and one hundred and fifteen unbound volumes of newspapers and the articles for the cabinet already mentioned.

There should be added to Dr. George Chandler's personal gift of historical books and pamphlets, some genealogies procured by exchanges for the Chandler Genealogy. Two of the books obtained furnish to the no small company of American hunters after unclaimed fortunes in England, abundant food for thought. They are, first, the "History of the Lawrence-Townley and Chase-Townley Estates and Families," 8vo, pp. 110, N. Y., 1883, about which so much has lately been written in the public press, and second, the "History of the Carpenter Family and Estate," 8vo, pp. 70, N. Y., n. d. Of the former the title page ambitiously adds, "With copious Historical and Genealogical Notes of the Lawrence, Chase and Townley Families and much other valuable information." The latter is still more explicit, and reads, "Genealogical and Historical Record of the Carpenter Family with a Brief Genealogy of some of the descendants of William Carpenter of Weymouth and Rehoboth, Mass., William Carpenter of Providence, R. I., Samuel Carpenter of Penn., and Ephraim, Timothy and Jonas Carpenter of Long Island, including a full, complete and reliable history of the Carpenter estate of England." The paragraphs at the end of each volume are identical, even to the punctuation, save only that in one case the Lawrence, Chase and Townley names are used and in the other that of Carpenter, and are as follows: "In closing my report I desire to make the following observations. While my labor has not been productive of pecuniary profit, yet I



think the result has been beneficial. It may now be definitely taken as a fixed fact that the so-called Lawrence, Chase or Townley fund does not exist except in the fictions of traditions and the hope of the expectant recipients. It was worth, however, much more than the personal outlay incurred by the individual members of the association, to have settled once for all in an authoritative manner, such a perplexing and delusive anticipation. As your agent, having fulfilled my obligation to the best of my ability this report is respectfully submitted by yours respectfully." There is a lurking fear in your librarian's mind that these genealogies will prove as worthless as the claims with which the poor, deluded clients have entrusted their labor-saving agent. We have suffered but little, as compared with the libraries of the larger cities, from genealogical searchers of this class, but still enough to put us thoroughly on our guard. Dr. Haven once quoted to a visitor of this sort Minister Everett's remark, that during his term of service at the Court of St. James not one of the hundreds of such American fortune hunters was successful.

Hon. Horace Davis of California, has, aside from sending us the printed page, labored to secure for us facts relating to Mr. Alexander S. Taylor, whose death was noticed in the Council report of last October. He writes "It was a labor of love, for besides my desire to serve the Antiquarian Society, Taylor was my friend and I wanted to rescue his name from unmerited oblivion." Thus we continue to reap the advantage of our scattered membership, and it should be remembered by all that we are not only glad to receive from our own, but willing to give to them as well. President Hoar has for many years been the friend at court when government literature was needed, and as all will remember, has not forgotten us in the department of fine arts. Mr. Hoar has presented and desires the thorough restoration, at his expense, of the oil portrait of Mrs. L. H. Sigourney, and when that is done we have the promise of

Mrs. Sigourney's daughter, Mrs. Francis T. Russell, that she will visit the library to examine not only the portrait, but Mr. Salisbury's marble bust of the unknown lady, thought by so many Connecticut people to represent Mrs. Sigourney. As in our portrait of Hannah Adams, the costume of the day is carefully followed, and thus there is an added interest. Lydia Howard Huntley Sigourney was not only a poet but could also state facts, as witness her *Sketch of Connecticut, Forty Years Since*, and her *Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands*. Her early interest in the American Indians, which found expression in her *Traits of the Aborigines*, makes this gift a peculiarly appropriate one. Treasurer Paine has added to his usual semi-annual contribution of books, pamphlets and newspapers, two reprints of papers read by him before the energetic Worcester Society of Antiquity, namely, "An Episode of Worcester History" and "Random Recollections of Worcester, 1839-1843." In reproductions, especially of such a local character, we usually miss the helpful indexes which make a part of the volumes of Transactions or Proceedings to which they belong. Unindexed books continue to be great trials to the patience of scholars and librarians. To them it may be a comfort to hear the case stated as strongly as in a recent number of the *Sunday School Times*, which said "If there is a book which is worth reading, there ought to be an index to help a man to its finding. If there is nothing in the book which is worth reading, there is no need of an index nor of the book either. So it comes to pass that the lack of an index to any book whatsoever, is in itself a seeming index to the book's lack of real value; and it is a conclusive proof of the book's wretched incompleteness. If a choice must indeed be made between a good book without an index and a good index without a book, the off-hand presumption is in favor of the index."

Dr. William F. Poole has promptly answered all demands made upon him for information from the great North-west,

and is the first of our members to respond to the call for files of the serials regularly or occasionally used for publishing the results of their minor historical or literary labors. The *Dial* for April—which monthly the critical *Nation* says “could ill be spared”—contains his Pocahontas story, a reply to J. Estes Cooke. It is perhaps needless to state that like our learned Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, Dr. Deane, our associate does not take the Virginia view of the story. The following pertinent opinion is copied from Mr. Poole’s letter of January 27, 1885: “The papers east have possibly mentioned the capture of our notable book thief and the rich findings we received. I shall write it up for the information and instruction of other libraries. It is not safe to trust anybody with the run of a library, for he may be an educated crank.”

Rear Admiral Preble’s gift deserves more than a passing notice, for he was always in the habit of showing his interest in the Society, not only by regular attendance upon its meetings, but by sending us all that his busy pen produced. In February last, he gave us the beginning of his paper on Esek Hopkins, the First Commander-in-chief of the American Navy, 1775; and after his lamented death one of his many envelopes containing longevity clippings was found upon his table carefully marked for us. In a memorandum found among his papers was the following: “Sixth. My correspondence with relation to the United States Flag (four bound volumes) and concerning Steam Navigation to be presented to the American Antiquarian Society for preservation.” The first-named have been received and examined, and prove to be not only a valuable collection of autograph letters from the naval, army and literary world, but a mass of special history chronologically arranged. Even the correspondence with his printers and engravers is preserved, with an exact statement of receipts and expenditures. The Admiral’s extended comments follow many of the most important communications. The

following modest entry at the introduction to the first volume—a quotation from Sir William Monson—is a peculiarly pleasant reminder of him : “ Many things contained in this book are no other than collections of other authors, and my labor is no more than theirs who gather a variety of flowers out of several gardens to compose one sightly garland.”

Vice-President Salisbury's gift is large in quantity and valuable in kind ; local history, learned society, college and periodical literature predominating. Of course there are many duplicates, but our members and friends may recall to our advantage the fact that many of our books have been long used and are in early bindings. Hence the gifts, for instance, of periodicals later bound, or of single books rebound, or better preserved than our own, are often valuable to replace the much worn, which may be sold or exchanged. Besides the office chandeliers already mentioned, framed engravings, gas fixtures and President Salisbury's Worcester Fire Society buckets have been received and the latter placed in the newspaper room for service if required.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop—who with our First Vice-President heads the list of living members, both having been elected in October, 1838,—has rarely failed to send his semi-annual offering. It at this time consists of his address at the October meeting of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, his *Recollections of Baron Visconti* and his ever memorable address upon the much longed for completion of the Washington Monument.

Mr. John B. Colton's gift of a large number of American magazines brought to us in excellent condition from New York, suggests a privilege to those living nearer the library. It should be said that the demand for duplicate Harper's, Scribner's and Galaxies was never so great as now.

Mr. Joseph E. Davis, whose valuable gift of his father's bound correspondence was acknowledged somewhat at

length in the Librarian's report of last October, has sent one more volume to join its fellows.

The receipt of Mr. Melvil Dewey's first report as librarian of Columbia College, and his circular of information as to the school of librarians to be connected therewith, remind us of the saying that "New times demand new measures and new men." It is fitting that the wide-awake librarian, who, perhaps more than any other, induced the organization of the American Library Association, should be at the head of this experimental school and that he should have the solid support of wealthy Columbia. If he can inspire his pupils with the enthusiastic love for library work by which they are sure to be surrounded during their practical apprenticeship, and if they will take to head and heart the wise counsel which the lectures of such librarians as Winsor and Spofford, Moore and Poole, Cutter and Green may afford, the profession will doubtless take a step forward. We do not forget, however, that one must be a lover of the work before he can be a thoroughly successful doer of it. Intelligent devotion to it will be sure to bring a happy retrospect, a profitable present and a pleasant prospect. The time seems ripe for this trial, and scholars as well as the brotherhood of librarians will bid it God speed.

At the request of our President two valuable gifts have been sent from Washington; by Mr. James B. Eads, the famous engineer, his addresses and papers, together with Corthell's and Woodward's accounts of his great works; and by the eminent artist, Mr. A. G. Heaton, a large photograph of his strangely fascinating historic painting of the Recall of Columbus, one of the instructive art treasures of the Capitol. Mr. Lucius P. Goddard has brought from the old home of the late Benjamin Goddard of Worcester, as an earnest of more good things to come, catechisms of 1766 and 1796, and sermons by Sewall and Belknap, printed in 1733 and 1772 respectively. We have received

for the Haven alcove another instalment of one hundred volumes, and Mrs. Haven has kindly added the remainder of the reprint of the Society's "Proceedings upon the resignation of Dr. Haven." Mrs. Daniel Merriman, wife of our associate and daughter of the late Hon. Erastus B. Bigelow, has thoughtfully deposited in the library a set of her father's statistical and historical writings. Hon. William W. Rice has sent a very large collection of government documents, which came quite opportunely after our supply had been temporarily cut off at Washington. Mr. John Cone Kimball, one of Professor Putnam's companions, has brought, with the promise of others, ten of his photographs of Ohio mounds. Messrs. Sampson, Davenport and Company have added two hundred and seven directories, representing nearly all of the United States, very few of which were in our Directory alcove. This gift is a pleasant reminder of service given and received by way of exchange just after the first and second great fires in Boston. Our collection, which is next the alcove of Genealogy and is sometimes used in connection with it, was of assistance in making up the American Boynton Directory, the first of the kind of which we have any knowledge. In the change of the name of Turner's Public Spirit, presented by him for many years, to that of the Groton Landmark, it seems probable that the good advice of the historian of Groton, Dr. Green, has been followed. As a rule the name of the place in which a newspaper is printed should make a part of its title. It is a fact which appears to advantage, not only upon each number, but upon the bound volume when the gilt letters upon its back stare at us from the shelves of the newspaper room. The Twichell gift of a large and miscellaneous collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, newspapers, framed engravings, etc., is not yet completed, so that no detailed reference thereto will be made at this time. We were first informed of the desire of Miss Theolotia L. and Mrs. Ginery Twichell to wisely

dispose of this material, by letter of the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, dated November 17, 1884, and the further correspondence and arrangements with George S. Hale, Esq., and Mrs. Twichell, as to its transfer to the Society, were left to the Treasurer and Librarian by vote of the Council. The desire of Mrs. Calvin Willard that the portrait of her late husband by Mr. Edwin T. Billings should be presented to the American Antiquarian Society has been promptly complied with by her executor. Mr. Willard, who was born in Harvard, Mass., December 7, 1784, and who died in Worcester, September 20, 1867, was known for more than a score of years as "The model sheriff" of Worcester County. The gift of an Historic Manual by the Gloucester Evangelical Congregational Church appears to be late fruit from seed sown for our benefit some years ago by Judge Aldrich, while making a study of the history of church creeds and their changes. It will be added to the collection he then made for us. Both the Smithsonian Institution and the United States Department of the Interior have furnished valuable archaeological and ethnological material. The former supplies, presumably at the request of Dr. Rau, his interesting report on Prehistoric Fishing in Europe and North America, which was recommended for printing by two of his fellow-members in this Society, eminent judges in this special field, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton and Prof. Henry W. Haynes. Dr. Haven's high opinion of Prof. Rau's earlier work is borne out by the excellence of this later production. Having read at the April meeting of 1884, a communication from the Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior, dated April 8, 1884, stating that the American Antiquarian Society was no longer a depository of public documents, I am glad to be able to report a recall of that order.

While an apology may be due from your Librarian for the unusual length of his semi-annual report, he need offer none for asking you, in closing, to listen once more to the

vigorous words of our faithful Recording Secretary, Col. Washburn, as found in his report for the Council at the meeting of April, 1883, when he said: "The utility and security of the library building regarded as a mere depository are not to be overlooked or undervalued. The precautions against fire or other casualty are abundant, and it is almost impossible that any serious loss should be sustained. Hence the Council renew the appeal so often made before in the reports of the Librarian and in their own: that our members will bear this custodial office of the library constantly in mind, and intrust to its safe keeping all such materials of history as may be in their possession or control. In private keeping they are liable to waste or destruction from a multitude of causes which do not exist here. And materials, of little apparent value as they lie scattered here and there in the attic or waste places of the individual homes, may prove and in some instances have proved of almost inestimable worth, when arranged and grouped in their natural associations here."

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

*Librarian.*



## Donors and Donations.

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### FROM MEMBERS.

- ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Three reprints of his papers read before the society.
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Twenty pamphlets; and a heliotype of himself.
- BARTON, WILLIAM S., Esq., Worcester.—Redgrave's "Manual of Design."
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His monographs "On the Language and Ethnologic Position of the Xine Indians of Guatemala;" "On the Cuspidiform Petroglyphs, or so-called Bird-track Sculptures of Ohio;" on "Lineal Measures of the Semi-Civilized Nations of Mexico and Central America;" and his larger work upon "The Lenapé and their Legends."
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Esq., Richmond, Va.—Richmond newspapers containing historical articles.
- CAMPBELL, Hon. JAMES V., Detroit, Mich.—Reports of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, 1874-1883, in six volumes.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—Thirteen books and sixty-eight pamphlets, chiefly historical.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Esq., Worcester.—Five Songs of Henshaw Dana, with a memoir by Mr. Chase; and sixty-two numbers of magazines.
- CHASE, PLINY E., LL.D., Haverford College, Pa.—Three pamphlets relating to Haverford College; and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- CHILDS, GEORGE W., Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—Two photographs of himself; and three pamphlets relating to his life and library.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seventy-five books; and one hundred and five pamphlets.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., *Executor*, Worcester.—Ten bound volumes of newspapers; one hundred and eighty-six books; and four hundred and seventy-eight pamphlets.
- DAVIS, Hon. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—The thirty-fifth annual report of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, containing President Davis's address; and four selected pamphlets.
- ELLIS, Rev. GEORGE E., D.D., Boston.—The Memorial of John Harvard, October 15, 1884, containing Dr. Ellis's address; and his Life and Character of Chief Justice Sewall.
- FISCHER, Prof. HEINRICH, Freiburg, Germany.—His "Ueber den Stand der Kenntnisse von der Prehistorie Persiens;" and his "Nephritfrage und Submarginale Durchbohrung von Steingeräthen."

- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His *Life of James Monroe*; Dr. J. P. Thompson's *American Comments on European Questions*, and Dr. Lieber's *Miscellaneous Writings*, both edited by Dr. Gilman; and *Proceedings of the John F. Slater Fund Trustees*, 1884.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His *Groton Historical Series*, Nos. 1-7; the *American Journal of Numismatics*, and the *Groton Citizen*, as issued; sixty-nine pamphlets; and one portrait.
- GREEN, Mr. SAMUEL S., Worcester.—*Catalogue of the Sunday School Library, Second Parish, Worcester*, 1884.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Esq., Worcester.—One photograph.
- GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—*Brown University Catalogue for 1884-85*.
- HAYDEN, FERDINAND V., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—*Report of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories*, volume III.; and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, M.D., Amherst.—An Amherst College pamphlet.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—*Proceedings at the Dedication of the Lincoln Library, Massachusetts*, containing Mr. Hoar's address; an original oil portrait of Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney; and the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, and the *United States Consular Reports*, as issued.
- HOYT, Mr. ALBERT H., Boston.—The *Resolutions prepared by him and adopted by the New England Historic Genealogical Society upon the death of Admiral Preble*.
- HUGUET-LATOURE, Maj. L. A., Montreal, P. Q.—Twenty selected pamphlets; and a photograph of himself.
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—*Spirit of Missions*, sixty-seven numbers; and an account of the "Seabury Centennial" at Aberdeen, Scotland.
- JACKSON, Mr. JAMES, Paris, France.—His "*Tableau de diverses Vitesses Exprimées en Mètres par Seconde*."
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., JR., Augusta, Ga.—His *Tribute to the Memory of Davenport Jackson*, Esq.; and his address before the Georgia Bar Association, August 14, 1884.
- JONES, Hon. HORATIO G., Philadelphia, Pa.—*Flanders's Commemorative Address on John William Wallace*, late President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Sixty-four Canadian copper coins; and colored theatrical broadsides, in continuation.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—His "*Random Recollections of Worcester, 1839-1843*;" his "*Episode of Worcester History*;" five books; thirty-two numbers of magazines; one hundred and thirty-four pamphlets; six files of newspapers; and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Clinton, Wis.—His *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, as issued.
- PÉREZ, Señor ANDRÉS A., New York.—Three files of Mexican newspapers.

PERRY, Rt. Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Ia.—“His Men and Measures of the Massachusetts Conventions of 1784-85;” his Seabury Centennial Sermon; and the Iowa Churchman, as issued.

POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—The Dial, containing his “Pocahontas Story.”

POORE, Maj. BEN: PERLEY, Newbury.—Four bound volumes and three pamphlets of his own authorship; and a manuscript index to the Correspondence of James Monroe.

PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G., Lexington.—His address, October 26, 1884, on the Life and Character of Samuel Adams; and a lithograph, “Battle-Field Memorial, Lexington, Mass.”

PREBLE, Admiral GEORGE H., Brookline.—His Esek Hopkins, the first commander-in-chief of the American Navy, 1775; his “Wreck of H. M. S. Hussar, 1780;” and clippings relating to longevity.

PUTNAM, Prof. FREDERICK W., Cambridge.—His report as one of the Massachusetts Inland Fisheries Commissioners, 1885.

SALISBURY, JAMES H., M.D., New York.—The Biographical Cyclopædia and Portrait Gallery of Ohio, three volumes, quarto, 1883.

SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Esq., Worcester.—Ninety-one books; twenty-three hundred and thirty-two pamphlets; three chandellers; five framed engravings; and two fire buckets.

SMITH, Mr. CHARLES C., Boston.—His Memoir of George Dexter; and his annual report as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1885.

SMYTH, Rev. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—Andover Theological Seminary Catalogue, 1884-85.

STEVENS, HENRY, Esq., London, G. B.—His “Who Spoils our New English Books?”

TRUMBULL, Hon. J. HAMMOND, Hartford, Conn.—A counterfeit five dollar bill of the Worcester Bank, 1805.

WALKER, FRANCIS A., LL.D., Boston.—Catalogue of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for 1884-85.

WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH B., Concord, N. H.—His “Life and Exploits of Robert Rogers, the Ranger.”

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## THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FEDERALIST.

BY HENRY CABOT LODGE.

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THE authorship of certain numbers of the *Federalist* has fairly reached the dignity of a well established historical controversy and has become almost as hopeless of settlement as the identity of Junius or the guilt of Mary, Queen of Scots. In character it closely resembles the former question, except that the mystery of Junius is due to his secrecy while with the *Federalist* more authors have confessed themselves than can be provided for in the essays.

The discussion about the *Federalist* began nearly seventy years ago and has continued at intervals down to the present day. It culminated some twenty years since in two most elaborate essays, one by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, the other by Mr. John C. Hamilton, which were prefixed to the editions of the *Federalist*, published by those two gentlemen respectively. It is of course idle to suppose that any thing can now be written which will convince or satisfy everybody as the true answer to this long-mooted question. Yet it is possible perhaps not only to present the evidence, including a little that is new, in a compact form, but also to state the case and set forth the arguments in brief and simple fashion so that the merits of the question may be readily understood and easily appreciated.

The first step is to employ the process of elimination. This will free us from much extraneous matter and from the repetition of many long and bewildering lists of numbers. We can throw out first all those essays of which the authorship has never been questioned. We can then do the same with certain others as to which the authorities are

at variance, but from which a little examination removes all doubt. This done there will be left a small number of essays which are the subject of irreconcilable claims and on which this controversy really turns. The total number of essays according to modern numbering and as agreed to by both Hamilton and Madison is eighty-five. Of these the following have never had their authorship disputed by any one and are to be thus assigned :

To Hamilton : 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 59, 60, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, in all 49.

To Madison : 10, 14, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, in all 14.

To Jay : 2, 3, 4, 5, in all 4.

This disposes of 67 numbers and leaves 18 to be still accounted for, i. e. : 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64.

We now come to the second class of essays where the authorship after examination can be fixed with entire certainty. Number 17 is claimed for Madison in one of his own lists (there are four from his hand) and in one of the two Jefferson lists. Hamilton claims it in all his own lists and Madison concedes it to Hamilton in three of his. When Madison in any one of his four lists agrees with Hamilton as to the authorship of any essay it must be considered as settled. Number 17 therefore belongs to Hamilton. All the Hamilton lists assign numbers 18, 19 and 20 to Hamilton and Madison jointly. Two of the Madison lists give the authorship of these three papers exclusively to Madison. One Madison list and one Jefferson list give 18 and 19 exclusively to Madison and 20 wholly to Hamilton. In his fourth and last list Madison appends to No. 18 the following note : "The subject of this and the two following numbers happened to be taken up by both Mr. H. and Mr. M. What had been prepared

by Mr. H., who had entered more briefly into the subject, was left with Mr. M. on its appearing that the latter was engaged in it, with larger materials, and with a view to a more precise delineation, and from the pen of the latter the several papers went to press." This note confirms Hamilton's statement that these three papers were the work of himself and Madison, and to them jointly Nos. 18, 19 and 20 may therefore be credited without any reserve. One Jefferson list and one Madison list give No. 21 to Madison. Three Madison lists and all the Hamilton lists give it to Hamilton. No. 21 therefore can be set down unhesitatingly to Hamilton. No. 64 is claimed by Madison for himself in one of his lists, but in his three other lists and in one of the Jefferson lists it is given to Jay. In five of the Hamilton lists 64 is claimed for Hamilton and 54 is given to Jay. Chancellor Kent's Hamilton list gives 64 to Jay, while the edition of 1810 credits both 64 and 54 to Hamilton. Jay claimed for himself Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 64, and the MS. of 64 has been found among his papers and in his own handwriting. There is therefore no longer any doubt whatever as to 64, which can be given with absolute certainty to Jay.

The eighteen numbers left over from the first sifting are now reduced to twelve. Two of the six thus disposed of go to Hamilton, one goes to Jay and the other three, 18, 19 and 20 to Hamilton and Madison jointly. This makes Hamilton's total 51; Jay's 5; Madison's, as before, 14; and Madison and Hamilton's jointly 3. The twelve remaining numbers (49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62 and 63) are those over which the whole controversy as to the authorship of the *Federalist* really arises.

It now becomes necessary to notice briefly the various authorities in regard to the disputed authorship. The day before his fatal duel Hamilton called at the office of his friend, Egbert Benson, and left there a slip of paper in his own handwriting, which read as follows :

"Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 54, by J.

"Nos. 10, 14, 37 to 48 inclusive, M.

"Nos. 18, 19, 20, M. and H. jointly.

"All the others by H."

Mr. Egbert Benson was absent when Hamilton called. Mr. Robert Benson, his nephew, however, was present and saw the paper deposited by Hamilton in a volume of Pliny, and afterwards examined it himself. Judge Benson on his return pasted the slip thus left by Hamilton on the fly-leaf of his own copy of the *Federalist*. Thence he removed it after making a copy, and presented it to the New York Public Library for safe keeping. There the paper remained for some years. It was still there in 1818, when, in the controversy which then sprang up, William Coleman, the editor of the *New York Evening Post*, referred to it and informed the public that they could call and examine it. At some subsequent time this valuable document was stolen and it has never been recovered. In 1802-1803, John C. Hamilton, at the request and dictation of his father, sent a list to Philip Church, a nephew of General Hamilton, which agrees precisely with the Benson list. In 1807 the Executors of Hamilton's will deposited in the New York Public Library Hamilton's copy of the *Federalist* in which the authorship of the various numbers was said to be designated in his own handwriting. Attention was called to this fact by a letter in the "Port-folio," attributed to Chancellor Kent, who there gave from the copy thus deposited a list of the authors, corresponding exactly with the Benson list. In 1810 an edition of Hamilton's works was published in New York. The second and third volumes contain the *Federalist*, and the author of each paper is designated, as we are informed in the preface, "from a private memorandum in his own (Hamilton's) handwriting." The designation of authors in this edition is the same as the Benson list, with one striking exception, No. 54 is given to Hamilton, and Jay is left with only four numbers. This difference would indicate either that the "Port-folio" list was

wrongly given, or that the editor of the 1810 edition had some list of which nothing is now known.

In a copy of the *Federalist* belonging to Fisher Ames, one of Hamilton's intimate friends, the authors of the papers are designated in accordance with the Benson list.

I have in my possession a copy of the *Federalist* of the edition of 1802, which belonged to George Cabot, who like Ames, was a very close personal friend of Hamilton. To the preface Mr. Cabot appended this note: "Those by Mr. Jay and Mr. Madison are now marked in this edition, those without a mark are from the pen of Hamilton." The marking corresponds with that of the edition of 1810, from which it may have been taken, and gives No. 54 to Hamilton as well as No. 64. In the second volume, however, Mr. Cabot has wafered in a slip of paper giving a list of the authors which corresponds exactly with the Benson list. Then there is the list kept by Chancellor Kent, which he says was revised by Hamilton, and which differs from the Benson list by giving 64 instead of 54 to Jay and 49 and 53 to Madison in addition to the fourteen assigned to him in the other Hamilton lists.

Finally there is the Washington list which, so far as I am aware, has never been published before and for which I am indebted to the kindness of John R. Baker, Esq., of Philadelphia. At the sale of Washington's library Mr. Baker purchased the General's copy of the *Federalist*, which was the first edition of 1788. On the fly-leaf of the first volume occurs the following memorandum in Washington's well-known hand-writing:

"Mr. Jay was author of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 54.

"Mr. Madison of Nos. 10, 14, and 37 to 48, exclusive of the last.

"Nos. 18, 19, 20 were the production of Jay, Madison and Hamilton.

"All the rest of Gen. Hamilton."

Washington died in 1799. He speaks of Hamilton as



General and that fixes, within a year, the time when his list was written. It must have been made up after July, 1798, and before December, 1799, and is, therefore, much the earliest list we have. It contains some curious variations from all the other lists, and these differences would seem to indicate that Washington made it up from recollection of information derived several years before from the authors. The striking and important fact is that this, the earliest list, drawn up by a singularly accurate man years before there was any thought of controversy, agrees in the main with the Benson list and assigns the twelve disputed numbers unhesitatingly to Hamilton.

We now come to the Madison lists. The first appeared in the *National Intelligencer* April 18, 1817, in a letter signed "Corrector," and was stated to be from "indubitable authority—a pencilled memorandum in the hand-writing of Madison himself." The second was given by Madison to Richard Rush at about the same time apparently as that of "Corrector." The third was published in the "*City of Washington Gazette*" December 15, 1817, and was stated to be "furnished by Madison himself." The fourth appeared in Gideon's edition of the *Federalist*, published at Washington in 1818, and was taken from Madison's notes in his own copy of the work. These lists all agree in giving the twelve disputed numbers to Madison, but they differ among themselves as to other numbers in a very marked degree.

There are two Jefferson lists. One was in his copy of the *Federalist* and corresponds with the most erroneous Madison list, that furnished to the "*Washington Gazette*," while the other was given to his friend Gideon Granger, and is identical with the Benson list.<sup>1</sup>

The only information derived from Mr. Jay was that he was the author of Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 64.

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<sup>1</sup> The Granger list is now in possession of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston.

Thus we find that the two principal authors of the *Federalist* are at variance as to the authorship of twelve important numbers.

Having stated what the authorities are, it merely remains to examine them. Suggestions have not been wanting that the principal Hamilton list, that of Benson, never existed. It is difficult to see how any one could seriously entertain such an idea, but in this inquiry I do not propose to pass over any theory which has even been hinted at. In his introduction to the *Federalist*, which is marked by the most extraordinary care and is thorough to the last degree in details, Mr. Dawson says that he had an interview with Mr. Robert Benson, who was present in the office when Hamilton came in and left the memorandum. From this eyewitness Mr. Dawson received the whole story. Mr. Benson said that he saw Hamilton and saw the list which was in Hamilton's handwriting; that his uncle made a copy of it, which still exists, and that his uncle then deposited the original in the New York Public Library. There, as has been said, the list remained for many years. There it was seen by anyone who chose to look at it, and in 1818 public attention was called to it and everybody was invited to examine it. During all those years its existence and its authenticity were never questioned for a moment, even in the somewhat sharp controversy which then arose. To suppose that it did not exist is to assume that Egbert Benson and his nephew were either liars or forgers, or both, and the mere statement that such a supposition is necessary is sufficient to destroy at once any theory that the Benson list never existed in Hamilton's handwriting. All the Hamilton lists agree except as to No. 54, which the edition of 1810 gives to Hamilton. Chancellor Kent's list gives 64 to Jay, which is correct, and 49 and 53 to Madison. As to the two last the difference is peculiar, but the Chancellor corrected his list in later years, and owing to the confusion between the original and the modern numbering,

the changes as to 49 and 53 seem to lose significance, especially as they are two of the first ten of the disputed numbers, and these ten all coming consecutively, must on any reasonable theory be assigned to one or the other of the authors in a block.

The next step is to find out the errors of the different authorities as to the undoubted numbers, in order to properly test their value as to those in dispute. The one unquestioned error made by Hamilton was as to number 54. He gave Jay his correct total of five numbers, but assigned him 54 instead of 64. We are now trying the value of these lists simply as documents by the ordinary rules of historical evidence, and this error may be justly said to impair their authority. This being admitted, let us apply the same rules to the Madison lists. In Gideon's edition of 1818 Madison concedes 18, 19 and 20 to be the joint work of Hamilton and himself, and gives 17 and 21 to Hamilton and 64 to Jay. In his first list, that of the "National Intelligencer," he claims 18, 19 and 20 as exclusively his own work, and also 64, which belonged to Jay. In the Rush list Madison again claimed 18, 19 and 20 for himself alone. In the "Washington Gazette" list he takes 17, 18, 19 and 21 to himself, two of them being joint and two belonging to Hamilton, and gives 20, which was the third joint number, wholly to Hamilton. The authority of the lists other than that of the edition of 1818 cannot be questioned, for Madison says in a letter to Gideon dated August 20, 1818 (Writings III., 110): "It may, however, be proper, perhaps, to observe that it (his copy lent to Gideon) is not the only one containing the names of the writers correctly prefixed to their respective papers. I had, a considerable time ago, at the request of particular friends, given the same advantage to their copies."

In the Hamilton lists, then, we find two errors as to two numbers, while in the Madison lists there are twelve errors as to six numbers. Tried, therefore, by the list of admitted

errors, Hamilton's authority is shown to be six times as good as that of Madison. But this is not all. In 1807 the Benson list, or one just like it, was published, and in 1810 came the edition of Hamilton's works, which gave four numbers to Jay, fourteen to Madison, and all the rest to Hamilton. Yet it was not until 1817 that the authority of these assignments was publicly disputed for the first time. Over ten years elapsed after the publication in the "Portfolio" before Madison contradicted Hamilton's list. This is a very serious matter if we apply the rules of evidence again. The excuse that it would not have been becoming in the President to have entered upon a literary controversy will not do, for the publication in the "Portfolio" preceded Madison's elevation to the Presidency by nearly eighteen months, and there was certainly no reason why a Secretary of State should not defend his copyright. There is still another point which tells against Madison. In a letter to J. K. Paulding, written in 1831,<sup>1</sup> as well as in an unpublished memorandum quoted by J. C. Hamilton in the introduction to his edition of the *Federalist*, Madison argues from internal evidence that he was the author of certain of the disputed papers. This would not have been done probably by a man who had no doubt in his own mind as to the essays. It would certainly not be the course of anyone who had contemporary memoranda to guide and assure him. Madison's argument from internal evidence makes it clear that he compiled his list from memory. There is no direct evidence that Hamilton did the same except from his error in regard to Jay's number on the treaty power. The probabilities, however, are strong that he also wrote his lists from memory, and all the lists, therefore, stand on the same footing in this respect.

The arguments from internal evidence on both sides, whether by Madison or others, seem to be for the most part worthless. One is that No. 49 speaks in terms of praise of

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<sup>1</sup> Writings of Madison, IV., 178.

Jefferson, and could only have proceeded from Madison. But the essays were written in 1788, not in 1831, and in 1788 Hamilton knew Jefferson simply as a Revolutionary leader, who was respected by all men, and had never had any political quarrel with him. Moreover, the essay, after quoting Jefferson and praising him, goes on to refute his doctrine as to the point in question. It is also said that 49 continues 48, and must therefore be by the same hand. But this argument fails if we examine the undoubted numbers. No. 9, for instance, is on "the utility of the Union as a safeguard against domestic faction and insurrection," while No. 10 is headed "the same subject continued," and No. 9 is by Hamilton and No. 10 by Madison. As to the historical examples cited in the essays, Madison and Hamilton used the same illustrations and drew from the same sources, as may be seen from the notes and briefs of their speeches. The differences in style are never sufficiently marked to lead to any safe conclusions.

This much, as has already been said, may be asserted with confidence: that Hamilton and Madison both relied upon their memories. We have therefore certain conflicting lists of the highest authority, and if we go merely upon the documentary evidence tried by the ordinary rules of historic evidence, the balance inclines very strongly in favor of Hamilton. The proportion of admitted errors, the ten years without contradiction, and Madison's arguments from internal evidence all tend to show in the strongest way that Hamilton's memory was decidedly the more accurate. But if we go beyond the direct documentary evidence, the case is not quite so clear. The best Hamilton list, that given to Benson, was written in haste and at a most agitating moment. It contains one acknowledged slip of the pen which gives 54 instead of 64 to Jay. As an ingenious writer in the *Historical Magazine* (vol. 8, 306) suggests, "37 to 48 inclusive by M." may have been another slip for "37-58 inclusive, by M." The essays from 49 to 58

inclusive, all deal with the same general subject of the popular element in the constitution, including representation in the lower House. On their face they certainly seem to be from the same pen. Madison, in the letter to Paulding just quoted, says that Hamilton's errors were due, of course, to haste and a lapse of memory, but if he was accused of errors they could only be attributed to a want of veracity. This is true to the extent that Madison gave time and thought to his assignment and contradicted Hamilton deliberately. Yet he, too, wrote from memory, and in four lists he made twelve errors, which were certainly owing to forgetfulness and not to untruthfulness. The theory of the writer in the *Historical Magazine* provides very comfortably for the ten numbers from 49 to 58 inclusive, but it breaks down utterly as to 62 and 63, the remaining two of the twelve in dispute. As to these two I have very little doubt. I think they both belong to Hamilton. They treat of the Senate, a subject on which Hamilton made a most elaborate speech in the New York convention, and the general line of thought and argument is the same in both cases. It was, too, a subject to which Hamilton had given particular attention, and this may have been the reason that he fell into an error as to number 64, which is concerned with the treaty-making power of the Senate. As to every doubtful number outside of the ten from 49-58, Madison was in error, and this seems to me to be fatally against him as to 62 and 63.

In regard to the disputed ten I have been able to come to no conclusion. Before I knew of the Washington list I felt that the probabilities were in favor of Madison, and I was inclined to assign those numbers to him, although not so confidently as in giving 62 and 63 to Hamilton.

The Washington list, both from its date and the character of its author, seems to me to tell very strongly against Madison. At the same time it is far from conclusive and while it has shaken my inclination to believe in Madison's

authorship of the disputed numbers it has not completely satisfied me that they are not his work.

The outcome of it all is, that the evidence in regard to the twelve disputed numbers is so hopelessly conflicting that the utmost which can be done is to present the plain facts and all the arguments as simply and clearly as possible, and then leave everyone to draw his own conclusions. No one is entitled to assign them to either Madison or Hamilton with absolute confidence. They were surely written by one or the other, and with that unsatisfactory certainty we must fain be content.

THE HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT, AS ILLUSTRATED  
BY THE NAMES OF HER TOWNS.

BY FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

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THAT is a sound and suggestive sentence of Dr. Johnson's in which he declares that "Life is surely given us for higher purposes than to gather what our ancestors have wisely thrown away, and to learn what is of no value but because it has been forgotten." But while this protest against fruitless antiquarianism may be justified, it is fair to remember that in every growing community actions and motives underlying them are thrown aside and apparently forgotten, which nevertheless bear good fruit and are worth recovering, when history comes to be written, for the light they cast on the methods and aims and daily surroundings of founders of States. In this spirit I desire to trace a few of the side-lights that fall on Connecticut history from the names given in successive generations to the incorporated townships of the State.

I admit at the outset that these names betray almost no trace of the greater outward events which have been acted on the soil, almost no trace of the political struggles and divisions which have agitated the community; the themes which they illustrate are rather the force of local attachments and of national pride, and the gradual expansion of an independent people from weakness to full strength.

We shall see, too, that this absence of political color is itself full of significance, bearing direct witness to that spirit of diplomatic caution and restraint which characterized throughout the colonial history of Connecticut,—especially if viewed in contrast with the elder colony of Massachusetts.



To illustrate my meaning by a single example ;—there is no doubt that our earliest settlers, busily building new homes in the wilderness in the days of successful resistance to Charles I. and of parliamentary rule in England, sympathized to the full with the new order of things there ; but we search in vain for any evidence of this sympathy in the names adopted for their new abodes, as they listened to the distant echo of those victories. Meantime, in Massachusetts, the towns of Reading, and Hull, and Manchester, received their names in prompt commemoration of Parliamentary successes ; and I take it that the omission of a like commemoration in Connecticut was studied, not accidental, and is expressive of a slightly different attitude from that of Massachusetts towards English authority.

In the study of history the things left undone and unattempted are sometimes as instructive and as significant as the things actually done or aimed at.

But if we are not to look for any marked display of party feeling or reference to passing interests, in this connection, what other guiding principle remains to be discovered ? The answer is easily anticipated, that the names with which the emigrants from Old England were familiar at home were the chief source of supply for the new localities ; we should expect this to some extent ; yet I doubt if we are prepared at first thought for the remarkable attachment shown in this method for the old home. Remember that only four or five years after 1637, when the General Assembly of Connecticut named its first batch of towns (Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield), emigration from Old England to New England came comparatively to a stand-still, in the near prospect of Puritan ascendancy at home, and was not renewed to any considerable extent until within the last century ;—and yet, for a hundred years following 1637, more than two-thirds of the names bestowed on the successive new townships and parishes in this colony were faithful reproductions of English originals.

Or, to extend the comparison to a longer period, it may well surprise us to find that out of almost exactly one hundred names given by public authority to prospective townships in this State, before the Declaration of Independence, at least fifty-seven were taken directly from British sources; if I have counted aright, seventeen of the remainder were owing to obvious peculiarities of natural location (as Waterbury, Middlefield), ten were mere variations or combinations of already existing names, usually by geographical adjuncts (as East Haddam, North Haven), eight were of Biblical origin, three were from names of Americans, founders or early settlers, two were borrowed from names in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and the remaining three can hardly be classified.

The comparative looseness of the tie binding Connecticut during all these years to the mother country is evidenced by the fact that for the same period in the two elder colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts, the proportion of place-names from English sources was far greater than with us.

The general conclusions may be made more clear by taking instances in detail, and for this purpose the history may be separated into a few well-marked periods.

And first, it is enough to mention the fact that in the earliest period, that extending down to 1665, there were two entirely distinct colonies existing within the territory of the present State of Connecticut.

The elder, a direct outgrowth from the colony of Massachusetts Bay, had migrated in three bands (which live before us to this day in the three vines on the seal of the State) to the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, in the Connecticut Valley. It had borrowed from that valley the musical Indian name of Connecticut, which means "beside the long tidal river," and forming a combination with the fort planted at the river's mouth, Saybrook, by the agent of some London proprietors, had increased at

the date mentioned, 1665, to a dozen plantations (of which Hartford was the capital), most of them still on or near the river, but others (Norwalk, Fairfield, Stratford, New London) ranging in either direction along the line of the Sound. Moreover a few less organized settlements beyond these, towards what is now New York, and a larger number on the Long Island shore; had owned allegiance to Connecticut.

As a whole, the colony was of pure English blood, homogeneous therefore, thrifty, orderly, and religious, not so much under the control of a few autocratic leaders as its model, Massachusetts Bay, but exhibiting a more simple democracy, with a nearer resemblance in some essential points to the modern spirit than we find in either of its chief contemporaries.

The second of the two colonies within the present State limits, had its centre at, and took its name from New Haven, its first town, in time, in numbers, and importance; it embraced also the neighboring Guilford, Branford and Milford, together with Stamford and Greenwich (separated from the rest by some of the Connecticut settlements), and last of all, Southold on the opposite Long Island shore.

This colony, though organized by men of high religious character and of abundant pecuniary resources, had been unfortunate in all its history. Unfortunate at first in the time of its beginning, transplanted at a date when the hope of Puritan England was all on this side the Atlantic, but scarcely set in operation when the turn of public affairs at home concentrated on that side the water all the Puritan interest, New Haven especially suffered from this withdrawal of expected immigration and capital, while Massachusetts Bay, already firmly rooted by ten years of unprecedented growth, and the Hartford colony, its healthy offshoot, were better equipped for meeting such a crisis. Later on, disastrous commercial ventures, embroilment

with their Dutch neighbors, and a certain uncompromising rigidity of Puritanism, which reached its culmination here, and which after the Restoration challenged inevitably the interference of the English government,—these and kindred incidents marked the feeble colony for early extinction.

A reference to the map for the location of each, will show, perhaps more clearly than any explanation of their different development, how predestined was the absorption of the younger and weaker colony by the elder and stronger one at Hartford.

Meantime, however, each had its quarter of a century and more of separate growth, in which New Haven stood sponsor to seven future townships, and Connecticut to twelve ;—the population and the wealth of the two sections being about in the same ratio.

But it is time to return from this digression to individual cases of town-names in these first groups.

The name of New Haven itself may be thought to present as much difficulty as any other of the entire list, for the theory of an English origin is hardly in this case satisfactory. So far as we can tell, none of the prominent inhabitants of 1640 (when the name was given) had come from the little fishing village of the same name, and the only one in England, just rising into notice as a convenient harbor on the coast of Sussex, though now familiar enough to modern travellers as the terminus of a line of Channel steamers. Sussex contributed but few to the New England emigration, and we are not sure that even a single one of the first comers to this town was of the Sussex quota. The fact remains, that the plantation after being called for two and a half years from the arrival of the main body of settlers by its Indian name of Quinnipiac (“long-water-country”), received in September, 1640, the name New Haven by an order of the General Court. The fact is also preserved—in a letter of John Davenport’s, written in 1639, on the first coming of a ship direct from England—

that the ship's captain was so well pleased with the harbor, that he called it the Fair Haven, but there is no clear connection between this incident and the essentially different name first occurring over a year later.

Apparently the two adjoining settlements had, before the name New Haven came into use, begun to be called Guilford and Milford;—the former, I suppose, at the instance of William Chittenden, one of its principal pillars, who came from the neighborhood of Guilford on the borders of Sussex and Kent, and the latter perhaps more because the first *mill* of the region was already built there, at a convenient *ford*, than in reminiscence of any of the numerous Milfords in the old country; if, however, one of those familiar Milfords was thought of, it was most likely Milford Haven, the prominent seaport of south-western Wales, abreast of the entrance to Bristol Channel, and so the last harbor which emigrants direct from Herefordshire, as our Milford people mainly were, would have taken leave of, as they sailed out into the West.

It is possible, now that *Guilford* having been thus named, the location of the English port of New Haven, on the Sussex coast, a little westward from the original Guilford, may have suggested the appropriation of the same name for our harbor, correspondently located with respect to the new Guilford. I know of no better reason to give, except the obvious reason, which was in any case a strong one, namely, the inherent fitness of the name as a descriptive one, a *New Haven*, like the reason which induced the settlers on Rhode Island a year earlier to adopt the name of Newport.

Of the other plantations of this colony, Greenwich no doubt borrowed its name from that of the royal residence on the Thames, and Stamford was a namesake of the ancient town on the borders of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, while the musical Indian form Totoket (the last syllables of which are the same with those in the name of

the Connecticut), after holding its own for ten years or more, was finally replaced by Branford, the popular corruption of Brentford, a London suburb on the Thames opposite Kew. Southold, the one plantation on Long Island which came under our jurisdiction, was a name common enough in England, and perhaps chosen here partly for geographical reasons. This exhausts the roll of the New Haven Colony, but we find the same rule of English names in the Connecticut territory.

There the list is headed by Hartford, commemorating the charming old town of Hertford, twenty miles due north from London, the birthplace of Samuel Stone, one of the two ministers of the new settlement. At the same time were named Windsor and Wethersfield,—the one evidently from the famous site of the customary residence of the sovereigns of England, and the other as evidently from the little town of the same name in the county of Essex, from the neighborhood of which came John Talcott, one of the most prominent among the proprietors of the new plantation.

To these were next added Stratford, a name like Greenwich and Branford, in reminiscence of a familiar suburb of London, Stratford-at-Bow, and Saybrook, in which is comprehended a fuller chapter of Connecticut history than in any other single name that we shall meet. It takes us back to 1632, before the emigration to Hartford and Windsor, and recalls the formation in that year of a company in England for developing the rich valley of the Connecticut. Of this company the foremost members were two of the most prominent among the Puritan nobility,—Viscount Say and Sele, and Baron Brooke,—with whom were joined Lord Rich, the heir of the powerful Earl of Warwick, and such commoners as Pym, and Hampden, and Humfrey, a son-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln. These lords and gentlemen intended presently to transport a supply of Puritan colonists to the unsettled territory, but on finding volunteer

colonization, of such stuff and with such motives as met their approval, begun in Hartford and the neighborhood, they willingly waived their contingent rights, for a large pecuniary consideration, and so it happens that the name of Say-Brook, given in honor of the two chief promoters of the company, Lords Say and Brooke, to the fort erected by their order at the mouth of the river, is now the company's only memorial.

An era of manifestly descriptive names was introduced in 1645, when a new town made out of the farms in the back country belonging to Hartford people, was called Farmington; so Fair-field was named the next year, and so Middle-Town in 1653, as the earliest connecting link between Saybrook and the up-river settlements. Norwalk, in 1650, has usually been associated with these, by being said to commemorate a purchase from the natives of territory measured by one day's *North-walk* from the Sound, but the orthography used in the early appearances of the name does not favor this explanation, and common sense rejects it; it is almost certainly Indian, modified by English lips.

In 1653 the oldest plantation east of the Connecticut river, in which Governor Winthrop was the chief inhabitant, known hitherto by its Indian name of Pequot, received the name of New London,—the Governor improving the occasion to spread upon the records the reason for the change under the “commendable practice of all the Colonies of these parts, that as this Country hath its denomination from our dear native Country of England, and thence is called New England, so the planters, in their first settling of most new plantations, have given names to those plantations of some cities and towns in England, thereby intending to keep up and leave to posterity the memorial of several places of note there, as Boston, Hartford, Windsor,” &c.; and so New London supplanted Pequot, the one name which would have fitly handed down

the remembrance of the Pequot tribe and the Pequot war, the greatest tragedy enacted on Connecticut soil under European domination.

By the same rule, a few months later, when another plantation was laid out to the northward of New London, it took the name of "Norridge," that particular name being perhaps suggested by the geographical position of the new settlement, it being much the same in relation to the other as the original Norwich to the original London; it is not ascertained that any of the early inhabitants were from Norwich in Old England.

One more locality in the colony had received a permanent name before the close of this period, though not erected into a town for more than a century later; I refer to Meriden, which was settled and named as early as 1664 by Andrew Belcher, of Boston, whose family came originally from Meriden or Miriden, a little village near Coventry, in Warwickshire, which was so named in accurate description of its location, that is, in a *miry dene*, dene being old English for valley.

This ends our survey of the ante-union period, except for notice of the fact that Rye, on the debatable border between the Colony of Connecticut and the Province of New York, was named by the former authority from the English port of that name in Sussex. Of course some other places, also, not yet fully settled, were already locally known by various names which did not prove permanent; such for instance was Mystic, in the territory east of New London, which Massachusetts had pretended to annex, calling it Southertown, which later grew into the modern Stonington.

We come next to the consolidation of the two separate colonies into one, and though it be two hundred and twenty years ago, New Haven has not even yet forgotten the dismay with which she learned in 1662 that the restored King had granted a charter to the Hartford people, putting



under their authority all the territory which they could get hold of, from the Rhode Island boundary westward to the Pacific. In the beginning the New Haven government had scrupulously bought out the Indian title to their lands, but had failed of securing a confirmation of this title by a grant from the authority of England, which claimed the sovereign right to the disposal of all the Atlantic coast by virtue of discovery. The unequal struggle of the two colonies could have but one termination. Connecticut had acquired a legal title to the New Haven lands, superior, that is to say, in the eye of English law, to that of the planters themselves. If these planters should decline to submit to her, she might not indeed coerce them, but they were without friends at court, and it was broadly threatened that nothing could in that case avert a still greater evil,—annexation to New York, whose proprietor would not hesitate to establish his authority by force of arms;—and so, after three years of impotent delay, Connecticut found herself acknowledged mistress of all the territory since known as hers.

In explanation of the reluctance with which the older public men of New Haven accepted the issue, it should be said that it meant to them not merely the disappearance of a separate experiment of government, of which they had had control, and the entering of other men into their labors, but much more, the humiliation of a colony which had been founded in church fellowship, and which had aimed at a specially high religious standard in its laws and discipline, and had exhibited the purest ideal of union of church and state, henceforth to be a subordinate portion of another colony, certainly never so strict in profession,—for instance not exacting *any* religious qualifications of its voters,—and just now, in particular, thought too complaisant in its attitude towards the English throne. But the apprehension was worse than the reality. In fact, the second era of our history stretches through a vista of comfortable prosperity from this union to the severance

from England in 1776. With a charter from the King which secured to her people the entire control of the government, Connecticut was complete within herself, and without motive for interest or intrigue beyond her own domain. The effect was, that she prudently kept in the background the subject of relations with the mother-country, and was practically independent of England, long before the other colonies had reached the point of desiring separation.

The same principles, however, in the choice of names for newly gathered communities, continued to hold. But naturally, the further we are from the source of the stream, the harder it will be to trace its descent; it is still possible, nevertheless, to show that the majority of these names repeated to a new generation those which were familiar to their ancestors in the old country. I may not delay for more than a few of the specially striking examples. But I may point out, for instance, that it adds to the interest with which we pass the name of *Killingworth*, to remember that Edward Griswold, pioneer of Englishmen on that ground, was born in Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, and that the form of the name which we use (though a complete disguise of the original meaning, a manor by the *canal* or ditch) is still the familiar corruption among the peasants of the English neighborhood. The original petition for a town, in 1667, preserved in the State Library, in the handwriting of the minister of the parish, John Woodbridge, spells the name "Kenelmeworth." It is a pity, by the way, that by the modern regulations in this State for the division of towns, the name Killingworth, after having served for one hundred and seventy years to designate the original settlement on the shore of the Sound, had to be transferred,—when that part of the town petitioned for a division,—to a remote back country parish, while the continuity of history was broken by attaching to a locality so long associated with the early English emigration, the bran-new name of Clinton.

Like these Griswolds in Killingworth, and the Talcotts in Wethersfield, many other of our historic houses have recorded indelibly on the map of Connecticut their English origin. Thus the estates which the family of John Haynes, the first Governor of Connecticut, owned at Great Hadham in Hertfordshire, suggested a name for our Haddam. Thus, again, Groton was named during the governorship of Fitz-John Winthrop, out of respect to the Suffolk country-seat of his distinguished family, and not at all unlikely is it that Colchester, the first town to be named after his accession to the chief magistracy, owed its appellation to the fact that the English Colchester is the nearest town of any considerable size to Groton. Tradition adds that he gave its name to Canterbury also, near the same date, in honor of the great cathedral city of eastern England.

Similarly, when Governor Winthrop was succeeded by Governor Saltonstall, it was only natural that the manor of Killingly, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, owned by the Saltonstall family, should be honored in the name of a new town, and that Pontefract itself should also be reproduced, in the colloquial form of Pomfret. Possibly also Bolton, named during the same term of office, may have been a reminiscence of Bolton Abbey, one of the famous sights of the same English neighborhood.

So, again, tradition reports that Durham in England was the home of the Wadsworth family, and that thus their prominent share in the settlement of our Durham suggested its name.

So, too, Tolland and Willington commemorate two Somersetshire villages, in one of which was born and in the other lived that Henry Wolcott who came to America in 1630, and whose grandson, Governor Roger Wolcott, was the chief patentee almost a century later of these two new towns in Tolland county. It may be mentioned that the orthography in the case of the younger of these towns was at first usually Wellington, as was that of its English

prototype, which has the honor of having given a title to the conqueror of Waterloo.

Once more, the Ripley family was among a company of emigrants from Hingham, in Norfolk, who originally settled the town of Hingham, in Massachusetts Bay, and when descendants bearing the same family name pushed out into the Connecticut wilderness and founded a new town, naturally they chose for it the name of Windham, dear to their fathers' ears as the customary pronunciation of Wymondham, the largest place within the immediate vicinity of Old Hingham, on the eastern coast of England.

The most recent that I can suggest, of these instances of a family tradition being strong enough to dictate a choice of name, is the case of Salisbury, which as late as 1738 took a name meant, I think, to remind us that the chief original proprietor, the Rev. Moses Noyes, of Lyme, was the son of a native of a little village in Wiltshire, in the near neighborhood of the city of Salisbury.

These may suffice as examples, but we run little risk in saying that it is only our ignorance of family history among the first comers that stands in the way of our finding similar reasons for the reappearance here of such obscure English village names as Simondsbury, colloquially Simsbury, in Dorsetshire, Danbury in Essex, Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, the birthplace of the poet Cowper, and Torrington and Hartland in Devonshire,—though possibly this last may be descriptive of land colonized from Hartford.

Of less value as indicating directions in which the future genealogist may work, yet not perhaps altogether without promise, are the names of larger English towns or cities which we have copied, such as Lyme and Wallingford, Preston and Derby, Glastonbury, Stafford and Wilton, Litchfield and Coventry, Chester and Winchester.

In some of the later instances in which a well-known English name is conferred on a remote country parish,—as for instance when the inaccessible hill district in New

Haven County was called Oxford, in 1741,—it is idle to conclude either that there was a family tradition connecting the two localities, or that there was hope of a career which should recall the lustre of the English exemplar. The selection merely testifies to a natural recurrence on the part of descendants, proud of the heritage of English glory, to the names which filled so large a share of English history.

Occasionally a sentimental reason has been assigned for the choice. Thus Newington parish (afterwards made a town) is said to have been named in 1718, out of respect to the residence in Stoke-Newington, a London suburb, of the excellent Dr. Watts, whose hymns, first published eleven years before, had already begun to be known and admired in America; but this explanation is not free from difficulties.

And thus Chatham is said, in 1767, to have been named in fond anticipation that its future shipyards might rival in importance the Royal Dockyard of Chatham, in Kent; at the same time it is fair to suppose that the authorities could read in this case between the lines, and allow a special fitness in the name, at a time when William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was the popular hero of America, because of his stand against the alleged right of Parliament to tax the colonies. That this sentiment might have inspired the name is suggested also by the petition received in the next year for a town in Windham County, to be called Wilkes-Barre, by a combination of the names of two other outspoken English friends of American liberty. The petition, as it happened, was refused, though probably not on account of the name proposed; but emigrants from the same region of Windham County, within a few years from this date, who engaged in the wild crusade for the possession of the Wyoming Valley, in northeastern Pennsylvania, planted there a living memorial of the incident, by naming in 1775 the still flourishing town of Wilkes-Barre.

Sometimes, as in connection with the apportionment into

new townships of the further part of Litchfield County, in 1738,—the last section of the State to be laid out and settled,—the names of larger divisions of the old country, as Norfolk, Kent, and Cornwall, were made use of; so, earlier, we have the infelicitous application of Cheshire (that is Chester-shire, the County of Chester) to a country village; and even of Scotland to one of the least populous towns in the State, so named about 1700 by its earliest inhabitant, a Scotchman by birth; so, too, in 1754, in one of the latest efforts of vanishing loyalty, the parish of *New Britain* was ambitiously set off from Farmington. This leads to the remark that expressions of loyalty to the British Crown and of compliment to the British Court, in the shape of names of places, were in Connecticut conspicuous by their absence. No one need ask for clearer testimony to the main facts of the Colony's relations to England than is furnished by the silent witness of her town-roll; and the lesson may be pointed by contrast with Massachusetts, with which comparison is natural, because of the apparent similarity in forms of government. Yet how great was the actual difference, and how really was that Colony controlled under its second charter by the mother country, let this fact show,—that of the names of towns given in Massachusetts in just the half-century before the Revolution, at least forty per cent. are distinctly derived from the names or titles or residences of members of the royal family or courtiers and placemen. So that this portion of the roll of Massachusetts townships<sup>1</sup> reads somewhat like a leaf out of the peerage, with its Hanover, Lunenburg, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Halifax, Pelham, Hardwick, Granville, Chesterfield, Shelburne, and so on; while by way of counterpart, Connecticut has absolutely nothing to show, unless it be the single instance of Somers, a town originally

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. W. H. Whitmore's elaborate paper on the "Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts," in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February, 1873, pp. 393-419.

named by Massachusetts, and later transferred to this Colony in the straightening of the boundary line. Perhaps I ought also to state that in 1761 a new parish formed out of Norwich, by the General Court, was called Hanover, possibly a tribute of respect to the reigning house; Hanover Parish, however, never gave name to a town.

The mention of Somers reminds me that there was little worship of heroes, whether native or foreign, in the New Englander of that day if left to himself, least of all in Connecticut, which had been sharply distinguished from the mother colony of Massachusetts Bay in its earliest years by its democratic equality and the comparative absence of a group of leaders with high family connections at home.

Naturally then, we find here no conspicuous attempts, as in Baltimore and New York and Albany, to preserve the fame of titled owners; nor any Jamestown, nor Charleston, nor Annapolis, in honor of reigning princes; just as the colony itself did not draw its name from the person or the position of its proprietors, as did Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire; nor like Virginia and Carolina, Maryland and Georgia, from royal godfathers and godmothers.

It was natural enough, however, that in a simpler way the zeal of individuals in opening up unbroken tracts of land should be emphasized, as when the new town of Mansfield was named in 1702 in honor of Major Moses Mansfield, one of its largest proprietors. So Reading Parish in 1729 got its name from Col. John Read, the principal settler, though local tradition now asserts that by the time a town charter was applied for, thirty-eight years later, the unpopularity of Col. Read was such that the people voted distinctly that the name to be asked for should be, not Reading but Redding. Thompson in 1730 was named from an early English landholder, Sir Robert Thompson, a devoted friend of the colonies, whose family owned a good

part of the township until after 1800. Ellington Parish, though the name is common in Old England, is said to have been so called in 1735, in allusion to the Ellsworth family, as among the principal owners of the district.

The question may be asked here whether the English towns which were the originals of our town names, group themselves in such a way upon the map as to throw any light on the general question of the distribution of emigrations from England to Connecticut. In other words, do these inquiries help us to know from what parts of England Connecticut was peopled? It may be said in reply that the conclusions to be drawn from these data all tend to corroborate the existing information as to Connecticut stock. What this stock usually was, the experience of the nucleus of the New Haven Colony well illustrates; the first settlers in the town of New Haven represented at least three distinct neighborhoods,—one part from London, one from Kent, and one from Yorkshire,—the last colonizing in the quarter which our modern “York Street” marks. Guilford was mainly settled from Surrey and Kent, and Milford from Herefordshire in the west. Here we have then a mingling of streams, from the metropolis, the south-eastern counties, the distant north-east, and the western midland; and this partial view is typical of the whole. In populating Connecticut, not only London and the eastern counties, but in less degree the southwest, the midland, the northeast, all bore their part, and all contributed their fair share to our treasury of town names.

I pass on to other classes of names in the same pre-Revolutionary period. Those suggested by natural peculiarities of soil or landscape need detain us but a moment. Occasionally, as in Roxbury or Brooklyn, the spelling may slightly disguise the original form, but in general such descriptive terms as Stonington and Ashford, Woodbury and Waterbury, Plainfield, Ridgefield, and Rocky Hill, all of which are names originating in New England, are self-



explanatory. Brooklyn was of course at first Brook-line and has nothing whatever in common with the pretty Dutch village of Breuckelen, near Utrecht, which gave its name, meaning "marsh-land," to the City of Churches, opposite New York.

Among our descriptive names is Suffield, which Connecticut acquired from Massachusetts in 1749, with Woodstock, Enfield, and Somers, by the straightening of boundary lines, and which was originally named in 1674 Southfield, with geographical reference to Springfield, as Westfield was, it being, as the record of the Massachusetts General Court runs, "the southernmost town that either at present is or is like to be in that country." Enfield, its neighbor on the east, founded nine years later, seems, however, to have had its name from the English Enfield, a northern suburb of London, and not from its being the "End" of this group of "Field" towns. In general the scrutiny of these descriptive appellations should make us well content that this was not the favorite principle under which the colony was developed; it is not decrying the fathers of Connecticut to admit that they lacked the graceful, active imagination which has brought such a system to perfection among other peoples of a warmer blood.

Again, the derivatives from names already existing in the Colony present no difficulty. It should be noted, however, that this class of names affords disappointingly little insight into the movements of population; only three towns, two in Litchfield County and one in Fairfield County, bear names which certainly indicate such sources of colonization, New Milford, settled from Milford in 1703, New Fairfield (1728), and New Hartford (1733); besides these, the town of Salem, in New London County, was so called out of respect to Col. Samuel Brown, of Salem, Mass., a great landholder in the parish when it was named in 1728; and the town of Andover, in Tolland County, is said to have received its name in 1747, in compliment to the emigration

of some of its early inhabitants from Andover in Massachusetts. There are also a number of derivatives which merely indicate the geographical partition of a formerly undivided territory; the earliest of these is East Haven, set off in 1707, but long before known as a village by the same name. The composite name of Harwinton was given in 1732 to a new township formed from portions of Hartford, Windsor and Farmington, each name contributing a syllable to the new designation. Many *parish* names have at different times been similarly constructed, though none of these parishes have attained the rank of separate towns; thus Hadlyme, carved out of Haddam and Lyme, Winsted, from Winchester and Barkhamsted, and Stratfield, the parish between Stratford and Fairfield, which later took the natural name of Bridgeport.

Another distinct class is that of Biblical names, introduced by Lebanon, which was in use as early as 1695, before town privileges were applied for. It may be doubted whether there was any attempt in these at special etymological or historical adaptation, though Goshen may be good pasture land, and Sharon abound in rich verdure. Between 1697 and 1762, and chiefly towards the later date, Connecticut named in this manner eight of her towns, besides several parts of towns or parishes. The fact accords with a certain devoutness of temperament and familiar recourse to Scripture, not out of place in a generation which was stirred to its depths by the revival preaching of Edwards and Whitefield. In most of these cases it is clear that the names did not originate with the residents of the districts, but with the General Assembly or other officials. It is a curious fact that Massachusetts, which we are wont to think of as the ideal Puritan Colony, shows in her entire history but three Biblical names in her list of towns; Salem in 1630, Rehoboth (in Plymouth Colony) in 1645, and Sharon in 1765.

Under the classes now enumerated are included all the

names given down to the Revolution, save two exceptional cases, Voluntown, a unique name manufactured in 1708 to denote the land granted by the Colony to the volunteer soldiers of New London County, who had taken such effective part in Philip's war and in the consequent conquest of the Narragansett Indians; and Union, so named in 1732. For the latter name I have no explanation to offer, unless it is to be interpreted by comparison with the names given within a dozen years earlier and later to the various parishes of Unity, New Concord, and Amity, which never became town names. I conjecture that in all these cases there lurks a reference to a combination of disconnected families of immigrants for a common purpose of settlement.

With the outbreak of the Revolution, we enter on a new period in the treatment of town nomenclature, and if we lose the controlling English influence, it is to substitute in a slightly less emphatic degree an American standard. One-third the names given in this period are descriptive of situation or derivatives from existing names, and an equal portion were given in honor of Americans either nationally or locally renowned. Names taken from English localities are not wholly wanting. Bristol, Hampton, and Essex may perhaps be such; Manchester and Portland certainly are so, with a clear reference to the trade in Manchester cottons and silks, and in Portland stone, as reproduced in the new world; a similar principle prompted the name of the borough of Birmingham. Berlin, Lisbon, Canton and Darien among towns, and Baltic and Hamburg among parishes, are witnesses to the widening of the horizon by foreign travel and commercial ventures. The names of Hamden, assigned by the Assembly in place of Mount Carmel, in 1786, and Cromwell, of so late a date as 1851, were evidently borrowed from the annals of the English revolution of 1640; so Orange, in 1822, was distinctly given in honor of the hero of the revolution of 1689. The same spirit which dictated these selections, exulting in the

triumphs of the Revolution, gave us the towns of Washington in 1779, of Franklin and Warren in 1786, of Columbia in 1804, of Vernon (from Mount Vernon) in 1808, and of Putnam in 1855. A kindred spirit, that which does honor to the leading official characters of the nation, gave us Monroe in 1823, during President Monroe's administration; while the next town to be incorporated, three years later, bore the name of Madison. Strangely enough, in the light of the political history of the State, these were not accompanied by any like tribute to the greater leader of the party dear to Connecticut, President Jefferson. With respect for the great men of the nation, there is sure to be fostered also respect for the eminent men of the individual State; and our roll worthily commemorates such statesmen as Sherman, and such Governors as Trumbull and Griswold and Huntington and Wolcott and Seymour. A number of towns, as might be expected, preserve the names of local celebrities. Such are Woodbridge and Brookfield, named from their first ministers, Benjamin Woodbridge and Thomas Brooks; Sterling, from a temporary resident, Dr. John Sterling, who made in 1794 an offer, never fulfilled, to give a public library, if he might be thus commemorated; Chaplin, from Deacon Benjamin Chaplin, who endowed the church in that parish; Ledyard, from a former proprietor of the district, and from the noted traveller, John Ledyard, a native of the soil; Morris, from the well-known Litchfield family of that name; and Sprague and Thomaston, from the capitalists who developed the manufacturing resources of those communities.

We are limiting our inquiry to incorporated towns; as every one sees, however, the parishes or boroughs in Connecticut have often eclipsed in importance and repute the towns proper in which they are found. And of course a large number of these local business centres of modern growth hand down the names of the men or the families who have promoted them; thus we have Ansonia, from

Anson G. Phelps of New York, Jewett City, Collinsville, Plantsville, Danielsonville, and so on.

The habit of naming from points of natural scenery and from geographical relation to other places has continued during the post-Revolutionary period, giving a large number of appellations, as a rule not at all interesting. There are a few graphic exceptions, such as Prospect and Bloomfield. Fortunately the list is disfigured by only one hybrid compound, that is, only one in which the several parts are evidently taken from different languages; the exception, and that as recent as 1869, is Plainville, heretofore locally known as the Great Plain. The single other instance in which this termination appears is in Montville, where both parts are French, and where the meaning, "hill-residence," not only describes appropriately the elevated situation, but has a covert reference to the family name of the first pastor of the flock, the Rev. James *Hillhouse*, a name made memorable to New Haven also, through a line of his descendants.

Under date of 1844 appears the only Indian name besides Norwalk borne by a Connecticut town, that of Naugatuck. We do well to regret that so many of the euphonious syllables which preceded all names of our choosing on this soil have been thought unworthy of formal adoption; the only recompense must lie in their retention to mark lesser local divisions, some of which are as familiarly known as any towns; so we have Willimantic, Mystic, Niantic, Montowese, CosCob and a long catalogue of others. In this matter of esteem for Indian terminology, Connecticut showed herself less conservative than any other of the colonies; to recur to Massachusetts for comparison, there Scituate in the Plymouth Colony was the sole example until 1762; then before the Revolution we find Natick, Marshpee, and Cohasset, reinforced in later times by half a dozen more.

In the entire Connecticut list there is no name derived

from classical literature; the pervading influence of the College did not encourage any such affectations as have disfigured, for instance, central New York, with its Ovid and Tully, its Marathon and Pharsalia, its Delphi and Tyre, its Romulus and Pompey, and a host of others.

There are only two names in our list which allow any suspicion of a sentimental origin; these are Union, already mentioned, and Avon, named in 1830 by some admirer of the bard of Avon. It is a proof perhaps of the more sober and prosaic nature of Connecticut pioneers, that they did not emulate Roger Williams in that sublime touch of religious sentiment in which he gave his city of refuge the name of Providence; a generation, however, which coined or adopted the beautiful name of Fairfield cannot have been wholly wanting in the poetic sense.

I may add a word as to the relative responsibility of the town itself and the Colony authorities for the names actually given. In earlier times the evidence goes to show that the preferences of the settlers in a new place had the controlling influence, while for the later Colonial period the central power had much more to do with determining the selection. Yet there were exceptions enough to point a striking contrast to the experience of Massachusetts. There, after the original charter was set aside, in 1684, the *colony* became a *province* in the full sense of the original distinction of those words; the volunteer settlement became a conquered outpost of England, and a race of royal governors left their broad mark on the vanquished territory in a monotonous series of derivatives from courtiers and politicians, to which as I have said before Connecticut, with her governors always chosen by popular election, has no parallel. In the ordinary run of cases, probably, the choice of a name was left to the governor. When the inhabitants, as rarely happened after the earliest years, expressed a preference, it was usually respected. Occasionally, however, just often enough to keep alive the

knowledge of their right to do so, the authorities exercised even in such cases the power of decision. Thus, in 1687, the primitive settlers of what we know as Danbury petitioned for town-privileges, requesting the name of Swampfield, and perhaps it may be thought to imply an Essex origin for the family of the then Governor, Robert Treat, that in rejecting as he did the prosaic compound which the people asked for, he substituted a village name familiar to none but an Essex man, though full of suggestion to him of Dane-bury, the ancient encampment of the Danish invader in that shire of eastern England. Again, a generation later, in 1720, when a petition came in from the scattered farmers of what had been locally known, sometimes as Hartford Mountains, sometimes as Hanover, that they should be set off as a town and called Hanover, the Assembly, or more properly Governor Saltonstall himself, discarded the proposed name, which might well have seemed like an obtrusive attempt to profess allegiance to the house lately seated on the British throne, and assigned instead the colorless name of Bolton. The incident is quite in keeping with the favorite attitude of Connecticut towards the mother country, putting in the background as much as possible the relation between them. Another instance of these interferences with the avowed will of the petitioning inhabitants, is in the case of a part of Norwich, which in 1786 sent a request to be made into a town by the name of Bath, but Bozrah was preferred by the Assembly. The floating tradition, which I give for what it is worth, is that the change was in consequence of some one's observing the particolored homespun suit worn by the rustic messenger who offered the petition, and flippantly reciting the solemn apostrophe of the Hebrew prophet: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?" Whether the explanation is correct or not, certain it is that the name originally presented was stricken out and another conferred, at a time when Biblical names had ceased to be

the fashion for such purposes in Connecticut, and one which has so little to commend it that it is one of the few of our town names which remain unique, not duplicated in the lists of any of the newer States.

It would require a closer study of the currents of population for the last fourscore years than I have been able to give, to show exhaustively how the dispersion of the sons of Connecticut has dotted the wide continent with the old town-names and with others derived from honored families of the State. Not only on the Western Reserve in Ohio do Norwalk and Saybrook, New London and New Haven, Lyme and Danbury, Cleveland and Painesville, Canfield and Tallmadge, and a multitude of other names, hand down the record of the first peopling of that region as "New Connecticut." Later emigrations to further distances have kept repeating the same process, and just as the forefathers made old Connecticut a guide-book to those English hamlets which they held in brightest remembrance, so the descendants, inheriting their enterprise as pioneers, have made of new homes all over the west and south-west speaking memorials of the State of their birth; and herein, though it be in a sense which no prophet or statesman foresaw, is fulfilled the bold promise of the charter which his gracious majesty King Charles II. magnificently, if ignorantly, gave in 1662, providing that his loyal Colony of Connecticut should run for the future from the Narragansett river on the east, westward—westward still, across the continent to the Pacific Sea!



## APPENDIX TO NAMES OF CONNECTICUT TOWNS.

A LIST is subjoined of the 167 incorporated towns in Connecticut, chronologically arranged according to the dates of the first use of their names, so far as the present writer is informed. The supposed origin of the names is indicated in parentheses, or by figures, with the following meaning:—1, from localities in England and other foreign countries; 2, from personal names; 3, from other American localities, especially in Connecticut; 4, from peculiarities of natural situation; 5, from the Bible.

1687, Hartford, 1.	1674, Woodbury, 4.
1687, Wethersfield, 1.	1675, Derby, 1.
1687, Windsor, 1.	1688, Enfield, 1.
1689, Saybrook, 2.	1686, Waterbury, 4.
1689, Milford, 4 or 1.	1687, Preston, 1.
1689, Gullford, 1.	1687, Danbury, 1.
1640, New Haven, 4.	1690, Woodstock, 1.
1640, Greenwich, 1.	1691, Windham, 1.
1642, Stamford, 1.	1692, Glastonbury, 1.
1643, Stratford, 1.	1695, Lebanon, 5.
1645, Farmington, 4.	1699, Colchester, 1.
1646, Fairfield, 4.	1700, Plainfield, 4.
1650, Norwalk (Indian).	1702, Mansfield, 2.
1658, Branford, 1.	1703, Canterbury, 1.
1658, Middletown, 4.	1703, New Milford, 8.
1658, New London, 1.	1704, Durham, 1.
1659, Norwich, 1.	1705, Groton, 1.
1664, Meriden, 1.	1706, Scotland, 1.
1666, Stonington, 4.	1707, East Haven, 8.
1667, Killingworth, 1.	1707, Hebron, 5.
1667, Lyme, 1.	1708, Voluntown (see above. p. 440).
1668, Haddam, 1.	1708, Newtown, 1.(?)
1670, Wallingford, 1.	1708, Killingly, 1.
1670, Simsbury, 1.	1709, Ridgefield, 4.
1674, Suffield, 4.	1710, Ashford, 4.

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| 1711, Coventry, 1.               | 1754, New Britain, 1.     |
| 1713, Pomfret, 1.                | 1759, Bethel, 5.          |
| 1715, Tolland, 1.                | 1762, Bethany, 5.         |
| 1718, East Haddam, 3.            | 1767, Chatham, 1 or 2.    |
| 1718, Stafford, 1.               | 1768, East Windsor, 3.    |
| 1718, Newington, 1.              | 1768, North Branford, 3.  |
| 1718, Rocky Hill, 4.             | 1768, East Hartford, 3.   |
| 1719, Litchfield, 1.             | 1777, Eastford, 3.        |
| 1720, Bolton, 1.                 | 1779, Washington, 2.      |
| 1724, North Stonington, 3.       | 1780, Watertown, 4.       |
| 1724, Cheshire, 1.               | 1784, Woodbridge, 2.      |
| 1725, Willington, 1.             | 1785, Berlin, 1.          |
| 1726, Wilton, 1.                 | 1785, Bristol, 1.(?)      |
| 1726, Southington, 4.            | 1786, Bozrah, 5.          |
| 1726, [New] Salem, 3.            | 1786, Franklin, 2.        |
| 1728, New Fairfield, 3.          | 1786, Hamden, 2.          |
| 1729, Redding, 2.                | 1786, Lisbon, 1.          |
| 1780, Thompson, 2.               | 1786, Warren, 2.          |
| 1781, Southbury, 3.              | 1786, Granby, 3.(?)       |
| 1781, New Canaan, 5.             | 1786, Hampton, 1 or 3.    |
| 1782, Torrington, 1.             | 1786, Montville, 4 and 2. |
| 1782, Barkhamsted, 1.            | 1787, Weston, 4.          |
| 1782, Colebrook, 1.              | 1788, Brookfield, 2.      |
| 1782, Harwinton, 3.              | 1789, Huntington, 2.      |
| 1782, Union (see above, p. 443). | 1790, Middlebury, 4.      |
| 1783, Hartland, 1 or 3.          | 1794, Sterling, 2.        |
| 1783, Winchester, 1.             | 1795, Plymouth, 3.        |
| 1783, New Hartford, 3.           | 1796, Wolcott, 2.         |
| 1784, Somers, 2.                 | 1797, Trumbull, 2.        |
| 1785, Ellington, 2.(?)           | 1800, Bridgeport, 4.      |
| 1788, Norfolk, 1.                | 1801, Waterford, 4.       |
| 1788, Goshen, 5.                 | 1802, Sherman, 2.         |
| 1788, Canaan, 5.                 | 1803, Bridgewater, 4.     |
| 1788, Cornwall, 1.               | 1804, Columbia, 2.        |
| 1788, Kent, 1.                   | 1806, Burlington, 3.(?)   |
| 1788, Salisbury, 1.              | 1806, Canton, 1.          |
| 1789, North Haven, 3.            | 1806, West Hartford, 3.   |
| 1789, Bethlehem, 5.              | 1808, Vernon, 3.          |
| 1789, Sharon, 5.                 | 1809, Chaplin, 2.         |
| 1740, Chester, 1.                | 1810, Westbrook, 3.       |
| 1741, Oxford, 1.                 | 1813, North Canaan, 3.    |
| 1743, Roxbury, 4.                | 1815, Griswold, 2.        |
| 1744, Middlefield, 4.            | 1816, East Lyme, 3.       |
| 1747, Andover, 3.                | 1820, Darien, 3.          |
| 1747, Marlborough, 1 or 2.       | 1820, Essex, 4.           |
| 1752, Brooklyn, 4.               | 1822, East Granby, 3.     |

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| 1822, Orange, 2.          | 1844, Naugatuck (Indian). |
| 1823, Manchester, 1.      | 1845, Easton, 3.          |
| 1823, Monroe, 2.          | 1845, South Windsor, 3.   |
| 1826, Madison, 2.         | 1850, Seymour, 2.         |
| 1827, Prospect, 4.        | 1851, Cromwell, 2.        |
| 1830, Avon, 1.            | 1852, Old Saybrook, 3.    |
| 1831, Plainville, 4.      | 1855, Old Lyme, 3.        |
| 1833, Windsor Locks, 3.   | 1855, Putnam, 2.          |
| 1835, Bloomfield, 3 or 4. | 1856, Beacon Falls, 4.    |
| 1835, Westport, 4.        | 1859, Morris, 2.          |
| 1836, Ledyard, 2.         | 1861, Sprague, 2.         |
| 1838, Clinton, 2 or 3.    | 1866, Thomaston, 2.       |
| 1841, Portland, 1.        |                           |

## SEMI-LUNAR AND CRESCENT-SHAPED TOOLS.

BY PH. J. J. VALENTINI.

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ABOUT six years ago two different works came to my hands, almost simultaneously, in which the authors advanced certain theories about the social condition and the industries of prehistoric Mexico.

The author of one of the works asserted that the natives, before the Spanish Conquest, were entirely unacquainted with metal and the uses it could be put to; they were still lingering in the helplessness of the Stone Age.

The author of the other work, though he stood face to face with one of the finest Palenque sculptures, could not satisfy himself that they were worked by means of metal chisels. He favored the theory that stone chisels or like tools had been employed, the reasons he alleged being that no mention of metal tools had been made by the Spanish writers and that no such kind of tool was ever discovered. In an elaborate note and with great earnestness he explains the ways and means by which stone can effectively be made to work on stone, success of course being only a question of patience and time.

The first of these theories was easy to explode. In a paper, published by this Society,<sup>1</sup> I showed that the early Mexicans were indeed acquainted with different sorts of metal, and that they knew how to extract, to smelt and to

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<sup>1</sup> *Mexican Copper Tools*, by Ph. J. J. Valentini. Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April 30, 1879.

cast it into moulds. This fact stands both on written and on painted record. The pictures exhibit coats of arms of certain cities which derived their names from the manufacture of copper axes; moreover, such axes appear drawn upon the roll of tribute, and men are represented in the attitude of working timber with copper blades fastened to curved handles.

As regards the other theory, it is not so easy to dispose of as I, in the beginning, thought it would be. The author stood on firm ground, when asserting that written tradition does not mention the fact that metal chisels were employed in stone sculpture. I took special pains to detect some passage that would disprove this theory of the stone chisels, but found the testimony in favor of them to be unanimous as well as plain. Nor do the paintings show the figure of any man doing the work of a stone-cutter or stone-sculptor, nor of any holding in his hands a tool recognized as a sculptor's metal tool. I know only of one single painting that could claim our attention in this direction. You will find it in the *Codex Tro*, where a man is represented carving an image.<sup>1</sup> But it is impossible to discriminate whether the tool in the hand of the man is meant to be of stone or metal, or whether the material of the image itself is meant to be of wood or stone. If looking for further evidence, I may indeed point to the picture of the bronze chisel, found by Dupaix in Oaxaca and represented in Vol. IV., pl. 1, p. 25, fig. 77, of Kingsborough's Collection. But then, whoever has made up his mind that sculpturing was performed by stone chisels, will perplex you by the question where the original of this Dupaix metal chisel is preserved. It seems to be lost. Our faith in the honesty of so conscientious an explorer as Dupaix was, will readily dispose of the slightest suspicion against this picture being a fraud—furthermore,

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<sup>1</sup>Manuscrit Troano. *Etudes sur le système etc., des Mayas*, par Br. de Bourbourg, Paris, 1859, Vol. 1st, Planches XVIII., XVII., XVI., XV., XIV. and XII.

common sense will tell us that the Dupaix chisel can not possibly have been a unicum, and thus we must arrive at the conclusion that if one of its kind existed, thousands of them must have been employed by the ancient stone-cutters. The only defect of this argument is that it will never be able to place a real metal chisel in our hands, which we can grasp and examine with our eyes, weigh on our scales and have it analyzed in the laboratory. Archæology of to-day has become tired of mere syllogism. It has taken the stand of brave old Thomas. He wanted the evidence of touch. Therefore, up to this day evidence has been against the theory of metal chisels. Nevertheless, as the attention paid to this special subject is only of recent date, we need not give up the hope that some day a well authenticated specimen of metal chisel will come to light and with it the stone chisel too! For, though this is claimed to have been the tool employed by the sculptors, who has, I would ask, given practical proof that any of the specimens preserved in the collections and labelled stone chisels, could have wrought out the little symbol for the seventeenth month, Ollin, as seen on the Mexican Calendar Stone? For the present let our watchword be: Searching and Finding!

We need not complain, however, that our efforts have been without success in these past six years. When I wrote the last page of my paper above mentioned, I had not had one single specimen of ancient Mexican copper tools in my hands, or known of its existence elsewhere. I worked it all out of the Spanish texts and the picture-codices. Meanwhile a considerable number of these tools have come to light, of different shapes and uses. They are presents made to us by the Messrs. S. Stevens, A. Agassiz, L. H. Aymé and F. A. Ober, who acquired them on their exploring-tours in Mexico. The person who took the most interest in this subject was Mr. F. W. Putnam, curator of the Peabody Museum. You remember the day on which

he exhibited the specimens thus obtained and also those interesting copper objects which, through his own industry, he had been able to gather from the Western mounds. The written reports, with illustrations, are in your hands. They form important "principia" in the building of a new province of archæological research on our continent.

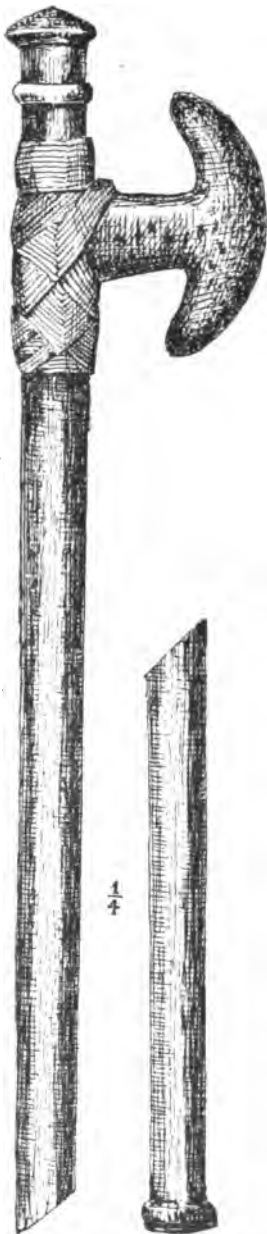
Among the specimens of Mexican origin, there are certain copper tools which attract attention on account of their peculiar crescent-shaped blades, and which are known to us under the name of copper-taus. Opinions are divided as to the purposes which these instruments may have served. That they represent tools is the first impression we received from their inspection. Some interpret them to be hoes, others take them for scrapers, and the Spanish chroniclers aver they represented money among the Mexican natives. I will not deny that occasionally they may have done all these and many more good services, but I must object that these instruments were planned and manufactured for the above purposes, but for what else I shall endeavor to explain.

Rounded blades, of which we now possess so many specimens of every variety in shape and size, are found to have been employed by man all over the globe, and in immemorial times. The most primitive tool of man in the Stone Age presents a blade, not with a straight edge as might be expected, but with a rounded one. This seems to be the rule, and perhaps we are able to divine the way by which man very early learned that only the rounded edge would do the work intended and prevent his instrument from being spoiled. Admitted that the first tool used by man was the *wedge*, the second step to make the wedge more efficient, must have been to lengthen it by the addition of a handle or a pole. The most important step, however, which he made further, was this, to set the wedge crosswise on the top of the handle. Though still rudimentary, yet the future axe was born. The first experience of the

happy father must have been sad indeed. For by striking softly with the new-born axe against the trunk of a tree, such strokes would not have had the power to bring it to the ground, and again at any vigorous stroke he felt tempted to make, the wedge must have entered the wood so deeply as to remain sticking in it. He arrived at the melancholy knowledge that he had driven, what we would call to-day, a dead bolt into the tree. Trying to improve the useless tool, he might have found the remedy in a new wedge, which had to be chipped somewhat flatter and to be provided with an edge a good deal longer than that of the former one, so that at the mightiest stroke he had the power of dealing the whole length of the blade would not enter the trunk, but on account of its roundness leave free both corner edges of the blade. This would have worked well, as long as he attempted felling small trees only. Yet as soon as he attempted to fell the giants of the forest, he found they were the stronger party. Either the axe got stuck again, or still worse, the stroke which failed to be made with the necessary power would have caused the corner edges of the blade to break in his efforts to extract it from the tree. Perhaps it was when grinding off the broken corner, and for the sake of symmetry the other corner too, that the so mended instrument turned out to be the only perfect one. He was then able to wheel it out from the trunk, with the greatest ease, at every stroke he made. Directed by the lever of the handle, each corner turned undisturbed around a pivot.

Such, more or less, may be imagined as the genesis of the curved edge. On whatever part of the globe stone axes have been discovered or are still found to be in use, we shall observe that the sides of the blade never meet the edge at an acute, but always at a right angle. It is against the nature of stone itself, which forbids that any strong pressure should be exerted upon an angle less than ninety degrees without breaking. It was only after the invention



*Fig. 1.*

of metal working that man could allow himself to depart from the time-honored experience and give play to his innate impulse of evolving new forms. Consequently, if a stone implement comes to our hands, the blade of which shows a deviation from this rule and does extend its edge beyond the two sides and thus exhibit what may be called projecting wings, we may be certain that such an instrument was not manufactured for the purpose of doing any serious work, but was shaped so for other and probably for ceremonial purposes.

With the intention of ascertaining the fact as to what people, besides Mexicans, manufactured tau-formed or crescent-shaped blades, I had to examine a large number of archaeological works. My harvest was but scanty, yet the very first illustration I met with, in John Evans's work,<sup>1</sup> offered a very encouraging sight. It was that of the so-called Montezuma axe, preserved in the Royal Imperial Ambras Collection, Vienna. Fig. 1. The blade, as you notice, is almost of the same shape as our Mexican copper crescents. The hafting, however, effected by a certain plait-work of strings, must arouse the suspicion of every one acquainted with Mexico's prehistory. In order to get at

<sup>1</sup>John Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements, etc., of Britain*. New York, Appleton, 1872. (Page 142, fig. 96).

Fig. 2.

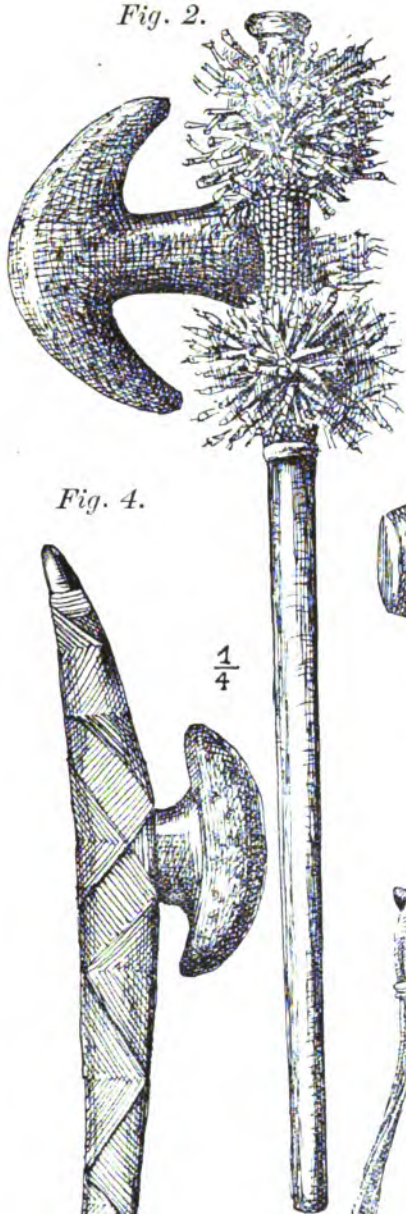


Fig. 3.

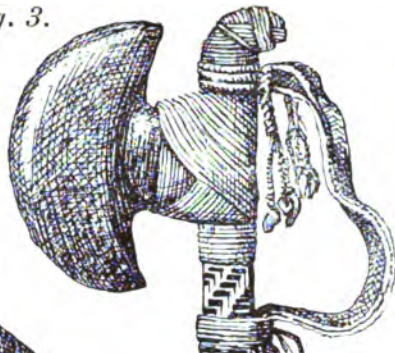


Fig. 6.

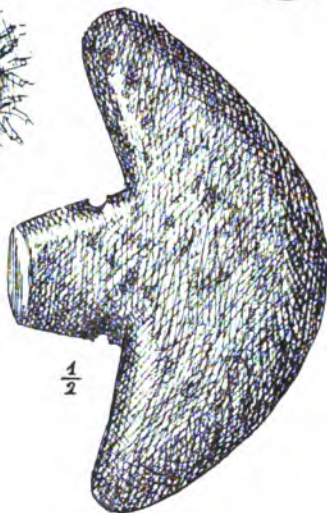
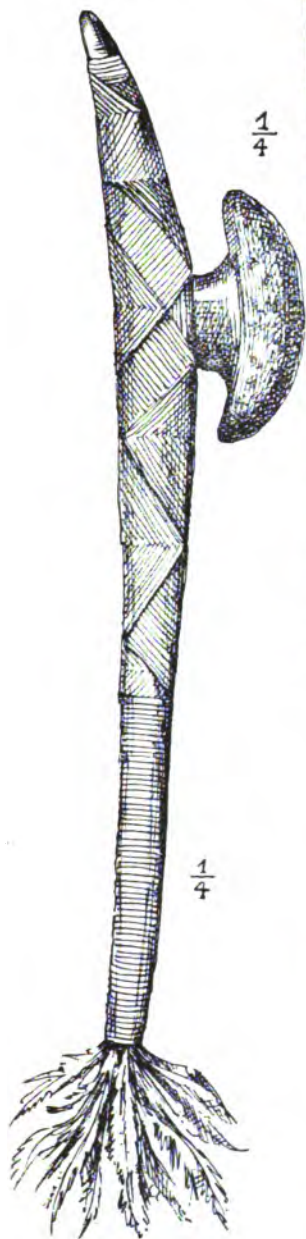


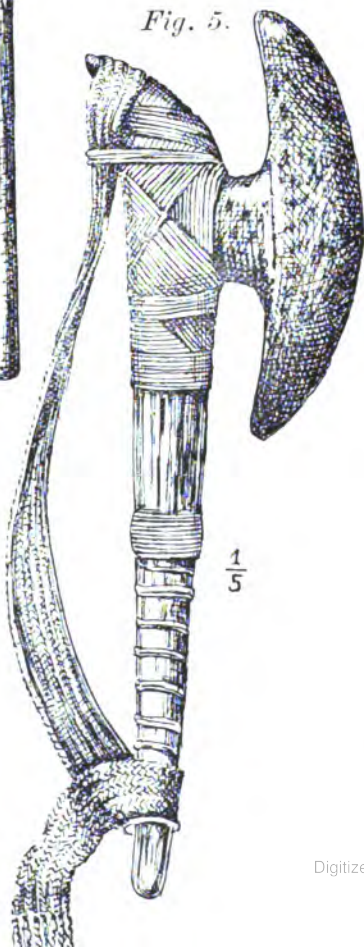
Fig. 4.



$\frac{1}{4}$

$\frac{1}{2}$

Fig. 5.



$\frac{1}{5}$

$\frac{1}{5}$

$\frac{1}{4}$



particulars concerning this Montezuma axe, I opened a correspondence with my Vienna friend, Prof. Fred. Müller, who kindly sent me a memoir just published on the same subject and written by one of Europe's most illustrious explorers, Ferd. von Hochstetter, a few months before his death. In substance, he writes, as follows: "The axe is one of the many precious specimens, preserved in the Ambras Collection, which in 1596, after the death of its owner, the Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol, was incorporated into the Imperial Court Museum. It is mentioned and described in each of the inventories made of it in 1596, 1613, 1621, 1730, 1788 and 1821. The blade is of syenitic material interspersed with two kinds of feldspar. Plaiting very skilful, similar to that on the Mangaia-stone axes (South sea archipelago). Handle of yellowish-brown wood, painted over with a rosin-like mass of cement." As to its origin, Mr. von Hochstetter on closer comparison with axes gathered from Brazilian tribes rejects the idea that the axe was of Mexican manufacture, and closes the treatise in the following words: "From all the statements furnished and the comparisons made the conclusion must be reached that the Mexican origin of the famous battle-axe of Montezuma is to be considered as more than doubtful, and we may fairly assume that this axe, if really obtained in Mexico by Cortez, had come into the hands of the 'Mörishen Khünings Muteazumo' (as the labels of the Ambras Collection read), either as a present or as spoils of war from some Brazilian tribe."

In order to give you a full idea of the Brazilian crescent-shaped stone-axes, spoken of by v. Hochstetter, and preserved in various European museums, I give you a copy of the illustrations gathered and published by him at the end of his memoir.

Figure 2. A second specimen of a so-called Montezuma battle-axe. Also in the Ambras collection.

Figure 3. Stone blade, found by Dr. Pohl, 1817-1821,

with the Paragramacras Indians, river Tocantin, Province Goyaz, Brazil; very similar to the Montezuma axe; is of syenitic material.

Figures 4 and 5. Stone axes, conjectured to come from Brazil, river Tocantin. Preserved in Dresden for more than two hundred years, first in the Royal Historical Museum, afterwards in the Royal Ethnographical Collection.

Figure 6. Stone blade without handle, from river Machado, affluent of river Madeira, north-western Brazil. Ethnographical Collection of Vienna.

*Fig. 7.*

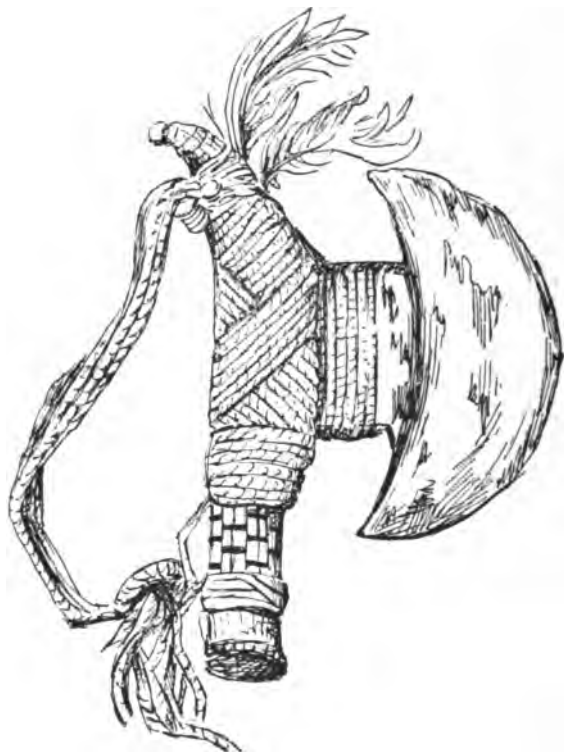


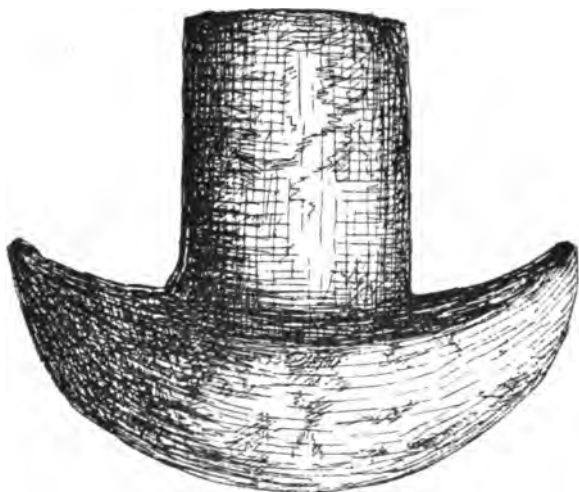
Figure 7 is taken from Evans, page 141. Original in the British Museum, London. Gathered from the Gavioões Indians, Brazil.

Inspection of these illustrations, and comparison made between them and the Montezuma axe, will suffice to make us respect the conclusion reached by Mr. von Hochstetter as to the origin of the latter specimen. Full evidence, in this regard, however, is not furnished unless proof is given that the wood of the handle, the fibre of the plait-work, and the stone of the blade are Brazilian products. That Montezuma obtained the axe as a present or as spoils of war from Brazil is a suggestion lacking probability. But if an explanation is asked for, how an axe of now recognized South American origin should have been sent from Mexico to Europe, it may be found in the light of the following considerations: Directly after the Conquest of Peru and Chili, an official traffic was established between the two dominions, and curiosities, therefore, though gathered in South America and shipped to Mexico, passing through various hands, may have been taken in Europe as having a direct Mexican origin. Should any of the Ambras specimens, upon closer examination later, turn out to be of Polynesian manufacture, it may in like manner have found its way to Europe through Mexico. Saavedra, sent out by Cortez into the Pacific to make discoveries, in 1527, stands on record to have reached the Molucca Archipelago, and to have bartered with Papuas as well as with Polynesians. In 1542 he was followed by Villalobos, who discovered the Caroline and the Marshall Archipelago. Legaspi and Urdaneta in 1565 transported the first colonists to the Philippines and founded Manila.<sup>1</sup> We also know these captains were especially directed to gather in those distant seas any product of nature, industry or art, tending to illustrate the quite unknown condition of the people and their country. In all these circumstances the clue may be discovered for the belief into which the European amateurs were led, intentionally or unintentionally, that the objects

<sup>1</sup> See on this subject *Geschichte der Erdkunde* von Oscar Peschel, Seite 322, 299. München, 1865.

presented to them came directly from the palaces of Montezuma. On the other hand, however, I cannot detect any clear evidence that this belief existed at the time when the Ambras Collection was transported to Vienna. Mr. von Hochstetter gives quite a full enumeration of these objects and of the wording of the labels appended to them. Upon reading the description of the objects, as given in the first inventory made of them in 1596, I cannot find that the objects mentioned were considered to have come from Mexico. Fans, feather-wreaths, robes, hairdresses were also in use with the chieftains of Peru or of Gilolo. Nor do the labels give the Mexican names, Temistitlan, Montezuma or Cortez. They simply speak of Moorish dresses, Indian fans and plumages and of Indian battle-axes. This same wording is also used in the inventory made in the year 1613. It is only in 1621 that the Indian battle-axe is described as having been in the possession of the "powerful Muteazumo, King of Mexico," which description, in the inventory of 1788, becomes: "Battle-axe of Montezuma II., King of Temistitlan at Mexico, which was sent by Hernan Cortez to the Pope, who made a present of it to the Archduke Ferdinand." Everybody knows what to think of such alterations and additions made to an original text. But my skepticism does not go so far as to pretend that there was not a single piece of true Mexican origin contained in the Ambras Collection. It was very probably composed of specimens gathered from beyond the Pacific coast and mixed up with others of Mexican origin. On account of this lack of authentic evidence, the true origin of each object will be best interpreted from the constituent parts of which each of these presents is composed. Thus much on the famous Montezuma axe.

Stone implements of crescent shape must be of very rare occurrence in the ancient world. At least, out of the one hundred and fourteen works on archæology, the illustrations of which I was able to consult, I only discovered this

*Fig. 8.*

specimen in Fig. 8. It is taken from F. Keller's work on the Lake Dwellings, Plate CXVII., Fig. 3. The original was dug out in Cumarola, near Modena, and is of dark green serpentine. The blade shows a strong resemblance to that of fig. 6 (see opposite page 456), in the Dresden Museum.

I now pass over to the discussion of the metal implements of semi-lunar and crescent shape.

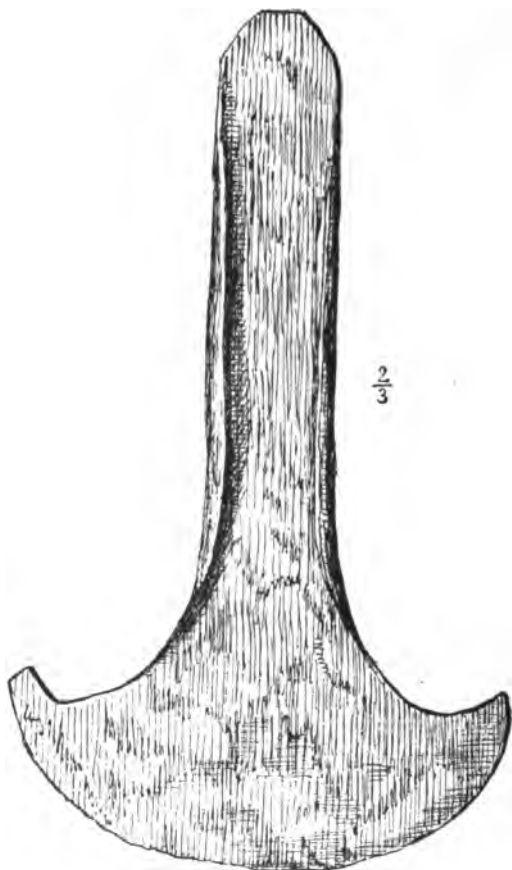
Were the progress which men made in comfort and art, during the Bronze Age, to be judged by nothing else than by the implements left behind, they alone would suffice to give us an insight into the enormous revolution which the first striking of a copper vein caused in the history of evolution to civilization. One begins to realize what the ancient poets meant when singing of Prometheus's audacious deeds. He is the victorious rebel against thralldom and superstition. The dreaded elements of nature he now takes in his own hands and makes them his obedient slaves. He chains the fleet feet of the wind to the head of the blazing fire and sets both fiends allied against the strongholds of the ore to drive the precious contents out of their



useless seclusion. Young Prometheus becomes a smelter, a moulder, a caster, a smith, a sculptor. The old tyrant of stone was dispossessed of his prestige. By its hard, unwilling temper, it used to break off when man was most in need of its helpful hand. Metal became a more complacent companion. He could bend it for his uses, and hammer and twist, cast and recast it, to his heart's delight, into all imaginable forms.

A new kind of tool, indeed, was not invented in the

*Fig. 9.*



Bronze Age. The celt, the hammer, the axe, the adze, all his weapons, more or less, were modelled upon the accustomed ancestral stone pattern. But the pliant metal afforded the workman a freedom of treatment which stone had not allowed. The body of the blade is laterally bent in flanges to grasp a handle, and which later terminate in a cast socket. The edge, thereby, receives a semi-lunar shape, and the two horns projecting become capable of resisting the strain of any stroke, which, if the blade was of stone, would end in its destruction. Of such semi-lunar, flanged bronze implements, I will give you in fig. 9 the illustration of one specimen, which was disinterred in Plymstock, Ireland, and which I copied from J. Evans's *Bronze Implements*, page 50, fig. 7. It most approaches the shape of the Mexican copper-tau, the proportion between the width of the shank and the distance of the horns being that of one to four.

In fig. 10 you see a curious semi-lunar bronze object, now preserved in the Museum of St. Germain. It was found in a mound of Magry-Lambert, Côte d'Or, Burgundy. The copy is taken from *Études Paléo-ethnologiques*, Bassin du Rhône, E. Chantre, *Album Age de Fer*, planche XLV., fig. 2. The author says it represents a razor, the clapper-ring serving for suspension. (?) In fig. 11 we have another

*Fig. 10.**Fig. 11.*

specimen of a Gallic razor (?) from a tumulus in Monceau Laurat, published by Alex. Bertrand, *Archæologie Celtique et Gauloise*, planche 76, page 298. The same author, on page 303, gives the cut of a razor of different shape, see

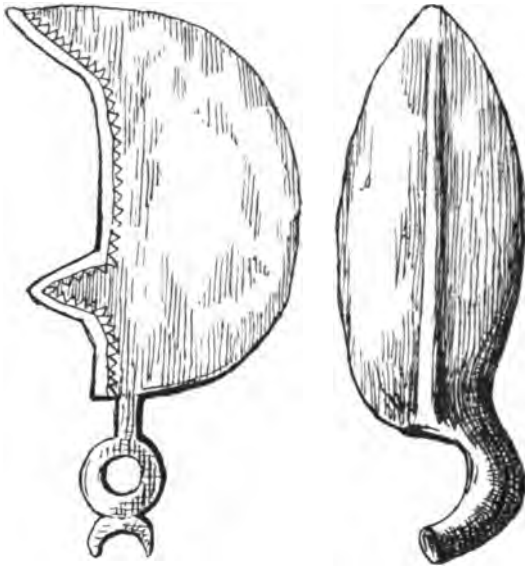
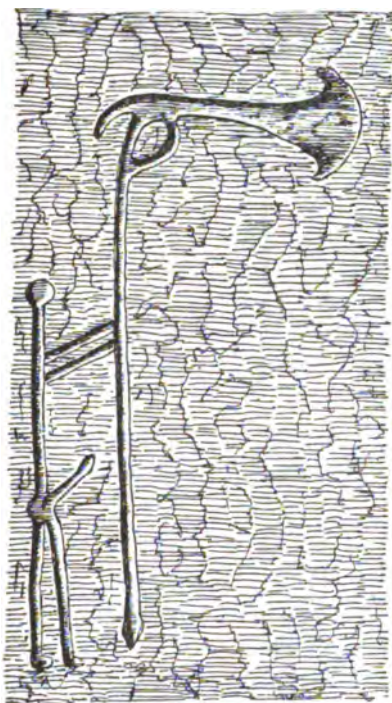
*Fig. 12.**Fig. 13.*

fig. 12, which comes from Chiusi (Italy), and that of fig. 13, from France, Station de Grésine; see *Chantre Album*, *Age de Bronze*, planche LVI., fig. 9.

Illustrations of axes with crescent-shaped blades engraved on huge granite boulders, were quite recently (1875) discovered in Simrislund, Schonen, South Sweden, by Mr. J. A. Nisbeth. They were published and described by Dr. J. Bruzelius, in *Antiquarisk Tidskrift f. Sv.*, and again discussed by Dr. O. Montelius, in the publications of *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archæologie*, Stockholm, 1876, Session 7<sup>me</sup>, page 475. In answer to my request for more special information regarding these rock-sculptures, Dr. Montelius was so kind as to furnish me with the following details: The male figure (see fig. 14) measures 47.5<sup>cm</sup>, the blade 29.7<sup>cm</sup>, the handle 59.4<sup>cm</sup>. The carving is not deep enough to admit accurate measurement. On the same rock still another man is represented, quite similar to that of our diagram, and beside

him ten ships, thirty-four axes with handles, a horse, etc. These figures are set out in different groups. The rock is of quartzite sandstone and measures about 22 [meters in

*Fig. 14.*



*Fig. 15.*



*Fig. 16.*



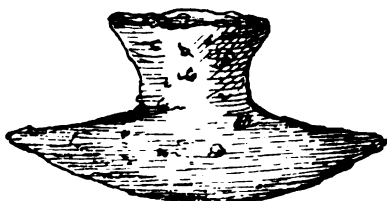
length and 15 meters in width. Figs. 15 and 16 are representations of axes as they appear in the other groups mentioned.

I am not aware that any discussion has been entered on with regard to the antiquity of these rock-sculptures, nor as to the nationality of the men figured thereon, nor regarding the carvers themselves.

In Beirut, Asia Minor, a crescent-shaped axe blade of bronze was found and represented by Chantre, *Age de Fer*, plate VII., fig. 9. See fig. 17.

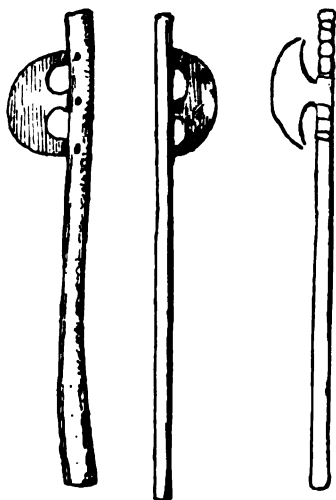
Fig. 17.

Fig. 18. Fig. 19. Fig. 20.



In "Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme," Paris, 1879, vol. V., pl. 19, fig. 10, the cut is given of an ancient Egyptian battle-axe, also of bronze, the blade of which is thrice riveted to the handle. It came from the tomb of Beni-Hassan, XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

As this axe is about 4,260 years old, we may regard it to be the patriarch of semi-lunar shaped implements. See fig. 18.

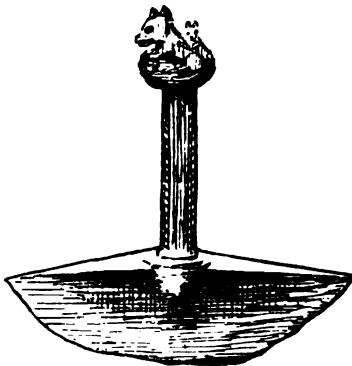
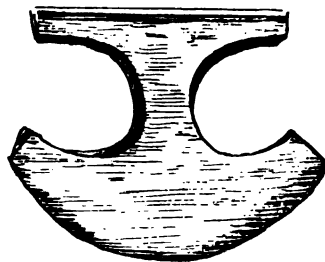


Going as far as India we find Siva represented twice on the sculptured façades of the Brahmanical cave of Aihole. See Jas. Burgess, Arch. Survey, W. India, 1883, pl. XLIII., fig. 5. In one of these sculptures the god holds in his hand a battle-axe, the blade of which is almost identical with the Egyptian blade of Beni-Hassan (see fig. 19), except that the rivets do not appear. In the other, he holds a similar axe, but the blade is fastened with strings. (See fig. 20). The temple, indeed, does not belong to the prehistoric age, but the god does; and the question is whether such an axe is known to have been an attribute of his in the remotest epochs of Brahmanism.

I now turn to the blades of American workmanship. In the southern continent the ancient Peruvian was the copper-smith and bronze-caster *par excellence*. As will be seen in the adjoining cuts they knew how to manufacture

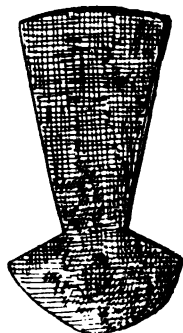
some very elegant specimens of semi-lunar blades. Fig. 21 is taken from Schoolcraft, *Ethnological Researches*, respecting the Red Men of America, vol. IV., page 438, pl. 39. Our esteemed associate, Mr. Henry W. Haynes, called your special attention to this specimen at the meeting of October, 1884. Mr. Thomas Ewbank, the writer of the article, describes the utensil in the following way :

“A Peruvian knife proper, with a circular blade, interesting from its resemblance to those used by the modern glovers and saddlers, and by Egyptian harness-makers under the Pharaohs. They have been found variously modified. The blade is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches long along the back. The widest part of the blade is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The back is  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick. The cylinder  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch, and represents an inverted bird's leg and foot (?). When used, the right hand grasped the shank, while the ball of the thumb rested between the open claws. In this way a firm hold and

*Fig. 21.**Fig. 22.**Fig. 23.*

control of the blade was secured." The specimens illustrated in figs. 22 and 23 were collected by E. G. Squier, from whose work, *Peru, Incidents of Travel*, page 174, I made the copies. In fig. 22 the handle is seen to stand straight, which undoubtedly is its normal position, while the oblique standing of the Ewbank specimen will be attributed to its battered condition. The top is crowned by the form of a quadruped with a cub bent across its back. In fig. 23 the handle appears in a horizontal position like knives of the same shape, which to-day are used in our kitchens.

Fig. 24, in Mr. Squier's opinion, represents an ancient Peruvian mason's trowel. He says that vast numbers of them are found not only in Chimú, but on the whole Peruvian coast. They vary in dimensions from a few inches to nearly two feet in length, but are unvarying in shape. Into whose hands all these valuable Peruvian relics have passed, I was unable to ascertain. Mr. Squier omitted to give their accurate measurements. Should the so-called trowel, however, be found of sufficient thickness, I should think it had served as a chisel. Trowels would not vary in dimensions from two to twenty-four inches.

*Fig. 24.*

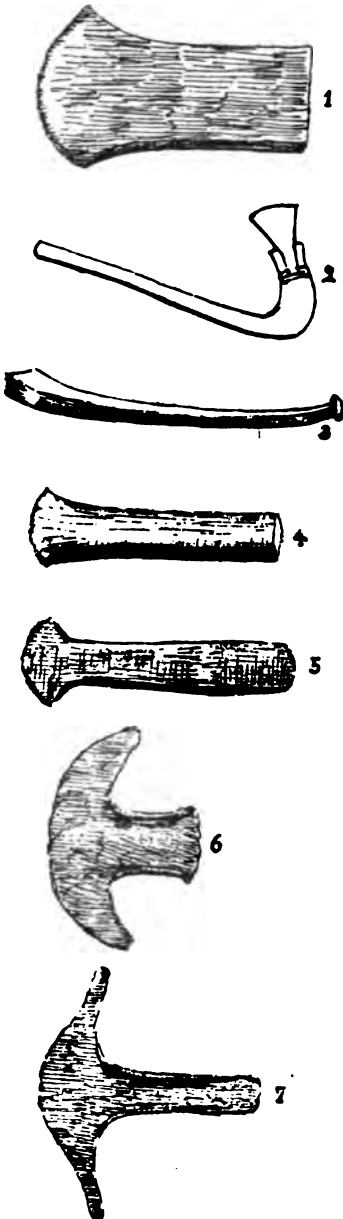
Attention was called by the Messrs. Bastian and Voss, of the Berlin Ethnological Museum, to certain paintings on an earthen vessel, which was dug up at Truxillo, the ancient site of Chimú, in 1874. Text and illustration may be found in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1876, Band VIII., Heft II., page 163 and Band IX., 1877, page 143. The painting shows twenty warriors in full battle dress. They are arranged in ten groups, each group consisting of one man who is the victor and the other the conquered.

Of these twenty men eight are bare-headed, six wear helmets either with straight plumes or with nothing else at their tops; six men, however, have the top of their helmets crowned with an object of semi-lunar shape. In order to impress you with the correct idea of these curious helmets,

*Fig. 25.**Fig. 26.*

I give a diagram of them in fig. 25. Dr. Voss does not advance any opinion as to the material of which these helmet-crests were made, but Dr. Bastian is more outspoken on this subject. He declares these crests were made of bronze or copper, and that by the medium of these crests the true meaning of those tau-formed copper blades, which are found in Mexico, was to be explained. That they represent crests there is no doubt. Of what material, it is difficult to decipher. They seem to be direct imitations from nature, as suggested in fig. 26, copied



*Fig. 27.*

from a Peruvian earthen vessel, in the possession of Dr. E. Hamilton Davis, New York. On it, the figure of the grotesque gecco, the helmeted tropical lizard, is etched, six of them in succession forming a zone spread about the vessel. But it is difficult to understand why the painter, with the intention of representing copper blades, should not have given these helmet-crests a uniform color, and as seen in the cuts, have represented one of them in white and the other in black color! Nor is there any record in existence that the Mexican warriors wore helmets with Tau-shaped copper crests, either in stone, clay, or in the picture-codices and the printed texts of the Spanish chroniclers.

As to the Mexican cutting tools, a few new specimens have come to light since I called attention to this subject. In the adjoining cuts I give you, in diminutive size, a survey of the whole stock of varieties hitherto known.

Fig. 1 represents the shape of the Mexican axe blade, which is the same as is found in the whole of Central

America and also in all parts of the globe. This specimen of axe was called *tepuz-quauh-xexeloni*, from *tepuz* metal, *quauh* tree, and *xeloa* to cut, hence the wood-axe proper. Despite of the abundance of axes at the time of the Conquest, at present they seem to be pretty scarce. The specimen recently taken from a tumulus in San Luis de Potosi, was discussed and illustrated by Mr. F. W. Putnam in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum, vol. III., page 130. The cut I give is taken from Dupaix, *Antiquités Mexicaines*, vol. II., Exped. 2d, pl. II., fig. 4. The axe is from Cuilapa.

Fig. 2 is copied from Kingsb. Coll., vol. I., page 10, fig. 5 and page 71, fig. 71. While the solid wood-axe had a straight handle, this one is curved like those found in Southern Germany and Switzerland. It was the instrument used by the carpenters to prepare the wood for building or other purposes. They seem to have employed two kinds, one larger, the other smaller, as we conclude from the Nahuatl vocabulary. The first was called *tlaximaloni*, carpenters' adze or something like it, and the other "*tlaxima tepuz tonli*, little axe," *tlaximal*, carpenter, *tepuz*, metal, and *tonli*, diminutive form. The pictures show the blade very pointed on both sides.

Fig. 3 is the representation ( $\frac{1}{2}$  size) of a bronze (?) chisel recently discovered in Mexico, preserved in the National Museum, and described by G. Mendoza in *Anales del Museo de México*, Tomo I., pagina 117. "Density 8.875, copper 97.87, and tin 2.13, a minimum percentage of gold and zinc." Its purposes seem to have been to do fine work in wood carving, edging, mortising and the like, and I can well imagine that it was employed by wood carvers when busy in finishing off such tablets as were brought home by Dr. Bernonilly, from the walls of Tikal (Yucatan). See illustrations of these tablets in Dés. Charnay's "*Les anciennes villes du Nouveau Monde*, Paris, 1885, page 409.

Fig. 4 is the illustration of the Dupaix bronze chisel. It is cylindrical in form, measures 7 Spanish inches in length and 1 inch in diameter. The author says, it was one of the many specimens which he found in existence in the city of Antequera, in 1803. In shape and dimensions it is almost identical with our modern chisels used by stone-cutters.

Fig. 5 is the representation of one of the many instruments which were lately brought over from Mexico by the Messrs. Agassiz, Ober and Aymé, and of which Curator Putnam gave us the illustrations. See 15th Report Peabody Museum, pages 133 and 134. I do not think it is correct to term them "axes." In common terminology the word *axe* is employed for such instruments as are made and used for the purpose of felling trees. Their blade (see fig. 1) is of the simplest form imaginable, while ours shows two parts, a blade of semi-lunar form, provided with a long shank. It was evidently destined to do a work less coarse than that which the axe did, and to have been used in carpentry. In such a case, we may consider it to be the blade belonging to the curved handle, as shown in fig. 2, the doubt, however, remaining, whether it was set in like a hatchet, parallel to the handle, or like an adze, crosswise. The latter mounting seems to me to be the most probable, because it agrees with that of the curved-handled tools as found in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Our cut is taken from the Mendoza Codex and we cannot decide this question, because, like all the pictures made by the natives, it gives but a rude outline drawing. But if the purposes of the tool are still open to conjecture, why should we not imagine that when set in an appropriate handle it should have served as a sculptor's chisel. I cannot refrain from making this suggestion, though it is apt to arouse a score of objections. The form of its edge, its whole shape, together with its solidity make it a tool suitable for performing any kind of sculptural work, and this would not be the first

instance that man, in the earlier stage of industry, employed the same tool or weapon for all the various purposes to which it was capable of being turned.<sup>1</sup>

I now pass to the much controverted Tau-shaped copper instruments. The two varieties, known to us through specimens brought over from Mexico, are those represented in figs. 6 and 7. They vary considerably in size. A specimen, illustrated by Dupaix, shows a span of 20<sup>cm</sup>, one in the Smithsonian Institution and another in the possession of Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Worcester, shows 16<sup>cm</sup> span, one of my own 14<sup>cm</sup>, one in the Trocadero, Paris, 12<sup>cm</sup>, and if we can trust Torquemada (*Mon. Ind.*, vol. II., Lib. XIV., Cap. 14), who says that he had specimens in his hand of three and four fingers width, they come down to 8 and 6<sup>cm</sup>, this distance measured from the top of the one to that of the other horn. For other details I refer to Mr. F. W. Putnam's *Notes on Copper Implements from Mexico*, *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, vol. II., New Series, Part 2, page 235, October 21, 1882. The Spanish writers, one copying the other, are unanimous in calling these copper-taus money which had circulated among the natives before the Conquest. This is not an exhaustive definition, but as far as it goes it is a very plausible one when we consider that the copper taus may have come into the market and become objects of barter, as we read of copper bells as well as grains of the cacao fruit, bales of cotton, axes and other articles of common necessity. Dupaix, after proceeding from Antequera (where he obtained the specimens mentioned above), to Mitla, observed in the church in that place a picture of San Isidro, holding in his right hand a pole armed with the problematic copper tau. He comes to the conclusion that it represents an agricultural implement. Bastian inclines

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<sup>1</sup> Much information on this topic may be taken from A. H. Lane Fox, *Primitive Warfare*, *Journal of the United Service Institution*, vol. XIII., 1869, page 507.

to take it for the crest of a Mexican helmet. Our associate, Mr. F. W. Putnam (see Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1882, page ii, Additional Note), is impressed with the idea that "they may possibly have been used in connection with the manufacture of pottery," and "that they would certainly answer admirably for scraping and smoothing the clay." He examined "the semi-lunar edges of all these specimens with a lens, found them to be dull and rounded, as if they had been used as scrapers, the edges showing many little indentations and irregularities, which are evidence of considerable and rather rough service." I, for my part, cannot understand the reason why an instrument of so peculiar and so delicate a shape as these copper taus are, should have been manufactured for the purposes suggested by Mr. Putnam, nor that this suggestion could be derived at all from the circumstance that its edge is dull, rounded and shows rough service. If these edges are dull and under the lens present a rounded and battered condition, no other proof is given by this fact, than that they shared the fate of every edge which has been in use and taxed to continuous service, and that it became dull and was sharpened again on the whetstone or by means of hammering it with some other stone. Nor does Mr. Putnam offer any evidence why the instrument should be connected with the manufacture of pottery. It does not present any peculiar characteristics which would render it more suitable for this sort of work than for any other. It would be presuming on my part to remind Mr. Putnam of the methods the natives employ in preparing pottery. No instrument of this kind was ever found in their hands employed for this object. The making of pottery is exclusively the women's lot. They knead the wet substance of the clay first with their hands and then between their fingers, and the only instrument which they later on employ in finishing and smoothing the surface of the vessel, is a flat wedge-shaped stone, which

throughout the Spanish colonies is known under the name of "*piedra de rayo*," thunderbolt. I trust, that upon closer examination and comparison with other instruments, we shall find out the true purposes which the copper-tau served in ancient Mexico.

As to the weapons employed by the Aztecs and other Central American tribes we are pretty well informed. They naturally took the eye of the Spanish conqueror at once. However as to the tools and implements belonging to the household and industries the conqueror took no interest in them, and consequently we do not find them on record, and any tool we discover at present, and the use of which is not apparent, must be defined by means of circumstantial evidence. To this day we know only that they had axes, adzes and chisels, and specimens of these are in our hands. But it is evident that the stock of their tools must have been by far larger. So for instance they must have required something like a knife. Though the knife which we use to-day differs materially from the copper-tau, still I believe this to have been the knife of that time. As a tool which cuts is one of the necessities of life and cannot be dispensed with, either in housekeeping or in industry, and furthermore, as no instrument in Mexico has been found which could fill up the place left empty in the stock of tools, the copper-tau is getting a chance to be regarded in another light than it was before. Look at the shank of this specimen. Notice these lateral flanges, which are curiously bent over towards both of its sides. They were expressly hammered into this shape in order to secure a handle by which to grasp the tool. Now give this blunt edge a few nice strokes of sharpening with this whetstone, take hold of the tool firmly with your hand, with thumb extended, the wrist resting on the table, set the point of the blade on this thick paste-board, press and cut forward towards the other point, and from the effect caused only on this paste-board you may judge to

how many more services this larger specimen as well as those of minor size could have been turned. There was never a doubt as to the particular use of the above-mentioned specimens, which were collected in Peru. They are indeed of better workmanship than these of Mexico. But in principle, conception and purpose they will be recognized to be identical. They served as knives !

The subject I have brought before you is susceptible of more expansion than I was capable to give it in words or illustrations. We often become more useful through that which we suggest than through that we offer in the form of positive results.

## FRENCH FABRICATIONS OR BLUNDERS IN AMERICAN LINGUISTICS.

BY HENRY W. HAYNES.

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OUR associate, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, in the *American Antiquarian* for March, 1885 (vol. vii., p. 108), has just made a most convincing exposure of an imposition lately practised upon certain French scholars, devoted to the study of the native languages of this continent. This recalls to recollection a similar experience that convulsed all Europe with laughter a quarter of a century ago at the naïve simplicity of a certain French Abbé, who had been for many years a missionary in the south-western portions of our country. I have thought it might be worth while to put on record, side by side, in our Proceedings a brief account of both these literary curiosities.

The volume last issued, the ninth in the series, of the *Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine*, published by the eminent house of Maisonneuve et Cie., of Paris, bears the following title: *Grammaire et Vocabulaire de la Langue Taensa, avec Textes traduits et commentés par J. D. Haumonté, Parisot, L. Adam.* It professes to be a grammar of the language, and a collection of the songs translated into French, of the Taensa tribe, who once lived in Louisiana on the banks of the lower Mississippi. As not a trace of this tongue is known to be in existence, the vocabulary appended and the commentary upon it have attracted the attention of philologists, especially as the work is preceded by an historical introduction by Mr. Albert S. Gatschet, of the Bureau of Ethnology, attached to the Smithsonian Institution. M. Haumonté states that he found among the



papers of his grandfather, who died in 1872, a manuscript in Spanish, without author's name or date, which he has "translated and arranged," but which he does not appear to have shown to any one, although M. Lucien Adam, one of the editors, asked to see it. I had the pleasure of making this last gentleman's acquaintance at the first *Congrès International des Américanistes*, held at Nancy ten years ago, and I wish to bear willing testimony to his great learning and intelligence, while I have perfect confidence in his good faith. He, certainly, has been one of the duped in this affair. I have not the time, neither is it necessary after Dr. Brinton's lucid exposition, to go into a long recital of the many novelties and absurdities that abound in this book, and which certainly ought to have been sufficient to put any native American scholar on his guard as to its true character. The history of the tribe is well known, and there is no record that there was ever any Spanish mission among them, and no explanation is attempted of why the manuscript should have been written in Spanish. M. Adam remarks upon the "extreme simplicity" of the language, but he fails to notice the many particulars in which it differs from any known American dialect, which I need not detain you with relating. It is upon the internal evidence supplied by the eleven songs themselves that the greatest stress must be laid. M. Adam says that "they give us unexpected information about the manners, customs and social condition of the Taensas," to which Dr. Brinton dryly adds that they supply us with "still more unexpected information about the physical geography of Louisiana." For example, the sugar maple, the white birch, and the wild rice are made to flourish in the swamps of the lower Mississippi, while the magnolia and the ebony are represented as growing in Minnesota. The numerous references to snow and ice are enough of themselves to prove its falsity. A calendar of twelve or thirteen months is included, of which I will cite a few of

the names, whose absurdity for the latitude of the Taensas is patent upon their face :—

1. Moon of sugar-maples — (April).
2. Moon of the flowers — (May).
7. Moon of the falling leaves — (October).
9. Moon of whiteness, i. e. snow — (December).

A translation is given of “The Marriage Song,” in which, among other novel information about the manners and customs of the tribe, we are told how the chief of the Choctaws came down the river to demand the hand of the beautiful daughter of the Taensa chief, bringing his bridal gifts in an ox-cart, and boasting of his cows. This proves too much for Dr. Brinton’s equanimity, and extorts from him the exclamation that “the marks of fraud are like Falstaff’s lies—‘gross as a mountain, open, palpable.’” So much for this latest example of the way in which “they order this matter better in France.”

I hold in my hand a great literary rarity, the property of the Public Library of the City of Boston, which I think the members of this Society will be pleased to inspect, as only one other copy of it in this vicinity is known to me, that in the Harvard College Library. It bears the following title :—“*Manuscrit pictographique Américaine, précédé d’une notice sur l’idéographie des Peaux-Rouges, par l’Abbé Em. Domenech etc., etc. Ouvrage publié sous les auspices de M. le Ministre d’État et de la Maison de l’Empereur. Paris, 1860.*” The preface, addressed to the late Paul Lacroix, the well-known “Bibliophile Jacob,” expresses after the most effusive fashion gratitude for protection extended to a “pale, sad, suffering, dreamy youth, returned from the distant solitudes of the New World, whose strange stories touched your heart so profoundly.” Under this inspiration he had proceeded to record the recollections of his travels and his notes upon the deserts of America.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journal d’un Missionnaire du Texas et au Mexique.* Paris, 1857.

*Missionary adventures in Texas and Mexico.* London, 1858.

Seven years residence in the Great Deserts of North America. 2 vols. London, 1860.

But in the meantime an unexpected piece of good fortune had befallen him. In the Library of the Arsenal, which had been purchased by the State from the Marquis de Paulmy, and was then under the charge of his friend Lacroix, as librarian, he had been shown a manuscript bearing in the catalogue the appellation of "The Book of the Savages," in the handwriting of the Marquis. This "very curious and perhaps unique monument" had been in the possession of the library more than a century, and was believed to have been presented to the Marquis by some returned missionary, as was the case with divers oriental books and manuscripts. It consisted of a collection of figures, mostly intended for human, and of hieroglyphics, of the very rudest description, mingled with uncouth letters and characters, all drawn with a black-lead pencil or a red crayon, upon a thick paper of Canadian fabric. In this "rudis indigestaque moles" the young enthusiast beheld an "important work traced by the hand of some sachem of New France, initiated in all the secret institutions of his tribe." Another learned missionary, we are informed, lately returned from the United States, had also heard about it, and had made a *fac-simile* copy of it, which "certainly would have been published by the Congress of the United States." But our author, who believed that "France, which had acquired and preserved this mute witness of the occupation of Canada by the French, ought to have the honor of the publication," bestirred himself, and, aided by the influence of his friend, the librarian of the Arsenal and M. de Marcey, director of the Academy of the Fine Arts, he brought the matter to the attention of the highest personages in the State with such notable results that the Emperor, Napoleon III., ordered the work to be published "under the auspices of the Minister of State and of the Imperial House." It appeared in this handsome shape accompanied by an introduction in three chapters. The first contains a learned resumé of the contents of all existing Mexican manuscripts,

both those which had formerly belonged to Boturini, and those subsequently acquired by M. Aubin. The second gives an account of the picture-writing of the Indians of North America, and of some of the best known inscriptions of this character, and institutes a comparison between this and the systems of other primitive people. The third consists of a detailed account of a supposed mystic kind of hieroglyphic writing known only to the medicine-men, and differing both from simple picture-writing and the more elaborate method based upon family totems. This was used by them to perpetuate the knowledge of religious mysteries, and of the magical practices employed in their healing art. The author then proceeds to give a commentary *in extenso* explanatory of this new-found treasure, which he has discovered to be a combination of all three kinds of picture-writing. The mystic, however, appears to predominate; especially as it is symbolized by the worship of the phallus, of which we are treated to a learned study. Some forty pages are next devoted to an attempt to discover the signification of the principal figures of this "singular manuscript, the only one of the kind that has ever been discovered up to this day, since the new world was made known to us." The results, however, are not entirely satisfactory even to the Abbé, and he promises to continue his studies of the various symbols that occur, isolated or combined, as well as of the numerous alphabetical characters, and he ends by predicting that he shall obtain for American dictography as grand results as have been acquired from the study of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the cuneiform characters. I despair of being able to convey by words any adequate idea of the unutterable absurdity of some of these explanations, and must of necessity refer you to the figures themselves. The work was welcomed with a shout of laughter from one end of Europe to the other. I think a glance at some of the figures themselves will explain the reason why. The

leading journals of all nations were eager to pour out their gibes at it, and a pamphlet by J. Pétzholdt,<sup>1</sup> a well-known bibliographer, made its appearance at Dresden, which was immediately translated into French, under the title of "The Book of the Savages in the Light of French Civilization." In this brochure arguments were brought forward to prove that it is only the scribbled copy-book of some back-woods German-American school-boy, as the patois of the words accompanying showed, and that the figures are of the style of those with which idle, naughty boys are fond of disfiguring walls. Meanwhile the Abbé Domenech, in blissful ignorance of all the turmoil that his book had stirred up had gone to Ireland to study the antiquities of that country, and to hunt up proofs of an ante-Columbian Irish emigration to North America. But on his return to Paris he rushed manfully to the defence of his theory with a pamphlet, under the title of "*La vérité sur le livre des Sauvages*," in which he paid his respects to his critics and tormentors in very plain terms. He proceeds to give a detailed explanation of several plates, which he copies from Schoolcraft and other official publications in this country, exhibiting, as he thinks, a kind of picture-writing entirely analogous to that of his manuscript, and follows it up with his promised interpretation of the alphabetical characters contained in it, which had been prepared for the press long before any of these attacks had been made upon him. His final conclusion is that "the alphabetical characters were traced by the same hand which drew the religious symbols, and that they are either the work of a chief of a tribe instructed by a German missionary, or of an old sachem of Suabian origin. Either hypothesis appears equally probable." But the world has thought otherwise. Another pamphlet soon appeared ridiculing him,<sup>2</sup> and Mr.

<sup>1</sup> "Das Buch der Wilden" im Lichte Französischer Civilisation, von J. Petzholdt. Dresden, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Wahre Erklärung des "Buches der Wilden," von J. P. Meissner. Leipzig, 1862.

Thomas W. Field, in his "Essay on Indian Bibliography," (p. 104), informs us that "Since then the Emperor, the Emperor's household, and the Abbé Domenech have been industriously employed in destroying all the copies they can procure, consequently they are exceedingly rare."

I will conclude with a glance at the subsequent fortunes of the worthy Abbé. After giving the world the benefit of his Irish studies, he accompanied Maximilian upon his unfortunate Mexican expedition, where he held an official position. The fruits of this were his "*Mexique, tel quel c'est*," 1867, and "*Histoire du Mexique, Juarez et Maximilian, correspondances inédites*," 3 vols., 1868. His final volume appeared last year under the title of "*Souvenirs d'Outre Mer*," from his retirement at Lourdes. In this he bids farewell to his pen, enumerating by title his voluminous writings upon various topics, but declining to say anything about the "*Manuscrit pictographique Américaine*," for the reason that this "belongs to science."

## NOTICES OF DECEASED MEMBERS.

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The following notices of members of the American Antiquarian Society, who have died since the meeting in October, 1884, were prepared at the request of the Council as a part of their report to the Society.

### ELLIS AMES.

ELLIS AMES, a member of the American Antiquarian Society since April, 1854, died at his home in Canton, Mass., October 30, 1884, at the age of seventy-five years. Born at Stoughton, Mass., October 17, 1809, he was descended like Fisher Ames and Oakes Ames, from William Ames, of Bruton, Somersetshire, England, who emigrated thence to this country in 1634, and settled in Braintree. His father was Jonathan Ames, jr., of Stoughton, and his mother Sally Capen, daughter of Edward Capen, of the same town. In 1814, at the close of the war, his father removed with his family to his native town of West Bridgewater, Plymouth County. Here Ellis fitted for college at the Bridgewater Academy, entering the sophomore class of Brown University in 1827. He graduated in 1830, in the same class with Professor George I. Chace and the late Judge Benjamin F. Thomas. He began at once the study of the law in the office of the Hon. William Baylies, at West Bridgewater, and was admitted to the bar at the December term of the court of common pleas for Plymouth County in 1833. He first practised in West Bridgewater, and represented that town in the General Court for the political years 1833, 1834, 1835 and 1836. In 1837 his increasing business led him to remove to Canton, where he remained in active practice till his death. In 1840 he married Harriet, daughter of Samuel Tucker, of Canton, who with two sons and three daughters, survives him.

Ellis Ames was renowned both as a lawyer and an antiquary. From as early as 1836 his name occurs frequently in the Massachusetts reports, generally in connection with important and intricate cases. He was a learned equity lawyer long before the legislature made equity an important branch of Massachusetts jurisprudence, and framed the bill in equity in the celebrated boundary suit brought by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against the State of Rhode Island in the year 1852, in the United States Supreme Court. In the early statute law of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colony he was probably the most erudite lawyer in the State. His collection of the Province laws is one of the most complete in existence, and it was mainly due to his labors as commissioner that their re-publication was made possible. In this important branch of our jurisprudence he was as pre-eminent as was the late Judge Metcalf in the field of the common law.

In 1852 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, upon the nomination of the late Chief Justice Shaw, and to the transactions of that society he contributed many valuable and curious papers. He was not especially devoted to belles-lettres, but was a most enthusiastic antiquary. He was a great reader and investigator of local history, and the historic region in which he lived furnished a rich field for the indulgence of his peculiar tastes.

Ellis Ames belonged to a by-gone type of lawyers. Practising in a small country town, he embraced in his clientage the counties of Norfolk, Plymouth and Bristol. He was a conservative rather than a progressive lawyer, and Johnson's Equity Reports and Williams's Saunders were his favorite repositories of judicial learning. He never won fame by his eloquence as an advocate or by his skill in the examination of witnesses, but his learning, industry, and devotion to his clients had made him the undisputed leader of the Plymouth and Norfolk bars.



## EDWARD JARVIS, M.D.

IN the space allotted to this notice mention can be made only of the principal incidents in the life of Dr. Jarvis. For a fuller account of this interesting and useful man reference is made to the excellent "Memorial of Edward Jarvis, M.D., by Robert W. Wood, M.D.," prepared for the American Statistical Association, and to the "Memoir of Edward Jarvis, M.D.," written by our associate, Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., LL.D., and printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1885. A list of Dr. Jarvis's writings, most of which have been published, is added to the latter article.

Edward Jarvis, the son of Francis and Melicent Jarvis, was born in Concord, Mass., January 9, 1803. He graduated honorably at Harvard College in 1826, and wished to enter the Christian ministry, but having been persuaded it would not be well for him to do so, determined to study medicine. His medical studies were pursued in Concord and Boston, and at the University of Vermont, at which institution he took a medical degree in 1830. For twelve years he devoted himself to the general practice of medicine. Two of those years were spent in Northfield, Mass., five in Concord, Mass., and five in Louisville, Kentucky.

In 1843 Dr. Jarvis removed to Dorchester, in this State, where he lived during the remainder of his life.

He began to have an interest in the treatment of the insane as early as 1836, and he resolved at about that time to devote himself when circumstances would allow to the exclusive study and treatment of insanity. He found it practicable to give much attention to this branch of his profession after removing to Dorchester; and he soon gave up general practice and devoted himself exclusively to this specialty until 1860.

Dr. Jarvis was for thirty-one years annually elected president of the American Statistical Association. He

retired from the position in January, 1883, and in the April following was chosen President emeritus of the Society. Important corrections were made by Dr. Jarvis in some of the published returns of the United States Census of 1840; a very large amount of unpaid labor was expended by him in the preparation of some of the statistics of the census of 1850. He performed much similar work in connection with the censuses of 1860 and 1870. This work was paid for, however. Dr. Jarvis was appointed a member of the Massachusetts Lunacy Commission in 1854, and served as its working member, giving his whole time for a year to an investigation of the subject which the commission was formed to report upon. The Hospital for the Insane at Northampton was established in accordance with the recommendation of that commission. In 1850 Dr. Jarvis became a member of the corporation of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble Minded Youth at South Boston, and for forty years in different positions connected with the institution rendered it very valuable service. In 1849 he was appointed Physician to the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind, also in South Boston, and during Dr. Howe's absence in Europe acted as Superintendent, *pro tempore*, and visited the institution daily.

At the request of Horace Mann, Dr. Jarvis wrote a book on physiology as the basis of the laws of health and of life, which has been extensively used in the schools of this country and translated into the Japanese language.

Dr. Jarvis was a member of many of the sanitary, historical and philosophical societies of the United States and other countries. He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1854. He was a delegate of the American Statistical Association to the International Statistical Congress at its fourth session held in London in 1860, was a vice-president of the Congress at that meeting, and took an active part in the discussions

and in the preparation of reports. In 1861 he was appointed a Trustee of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester. He was a consulting physician and warm friend of the New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston, and left to it, by will, a portion of his library.

Dr. Jarvis had an attack of paralysis in 1874, but was only partially prostrated by it; and he continued in comfortable health until near the end of his days, with the exception of having been confined to his house for six months by the effects of a serious fracture of the thigh bone. October 20, 1884, he experienced a second attack of paralysis which ended in his death, Friday, October 31, at the age of nearly eighty-two years.

The aim of Dr. Jarvis during the whole of his life, according to the testimony of intimate friends, was to make himself as useful as he could to his fellow-men and to do all that lay in his power to advance their moral, intellectual and physical welfare.

Dr. Jarvis had collected a library of statistics which was probably larger and more comprehensive than any other similar library in the United States; this he bequeathed to the American Statistical Association, the society over which he presided for so long a time.

In 1834 he married Almira Hunt of Concord. She died on Sunday, the second day after her husband's decease. The two were buried on the same day in one grave in their native town of Concord.<sup>1</sup> They left no children. Dr. Jarvis was not only an ardent philanthropist and much interested in educational movements and scientific study; he was also a man of extraordinary industry and of the greatest thoroughness in investigation.

He was, says Dr. Peabody, a "ready, able and copious writer." He had also the faculty of clear statement. He

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<sup>1</sup>There appeared a touching editorial article relating to this incident and to the married life of Dr. Jarvis in the *Christian Register* for November 6, 1884. It is entitled "Undivided Lives."

conducted a large correspondence, and was withal a modest man,

In 1838 Dr. Jarvis started a movement which resulted in the establishment of the Kentucky Historical Society on the first of February of that year. "In 1880," writes Dr. Peabody, "Dr. Jarvis completed a manuscript volume of six hundred and fifty pages, entitled 'Traditions and Reminiscences of Concord, from 1719 to 1878.' In 1883 he added to it another large volume, entitled 'Houses and People of Concord, 1810-1820,' containing biographical sketches of 'the prominent people who contributed to the advancement of the town.' These manuscript volumes are deposited in the Concord Public Library. They are written with great care and precision and include all of the local history that can be of any essential value for coming generations."

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#### REV. WILLIAM BARRY.

REV. WILLIAM BARRY, an accomplished scholar and zealous student of history, died at Chicago, Ill., January 17, 1885. He was the son of William and Esther (Stetson) Barry, and was born at Boston, January 10, 1805. He was fitted for college at Hingham, and entered Brown University in 1818, graduating in 1822. He studied law for a year and a half with Chief Justice Shaw, and his health being delicate, he spent two years in recreation and travelling in the southern states. In 1826 he entered the Divinity School at Cambridge, and, having completed the course of study, went abroad and spent two years in study at Göttingen and Paris. In 1830 he was licensed as a preacher by the Boston Association of Ministers, and was ordained as pastor of the South Congregational Church (Unitarian), at Lowell, Mass., where he labored for five years. In 1835 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Deacon

Cephas and Clarissa (Gleason) Willard, of Petersham, Mass., a lady of rare culture and endowments. The same year he removed to Framingham, Mass., and became pastor of the First Church. Here his studies were turned to historical subjects, and he prepared his admirable "History of Framingham." In 1844 his feeble health obliged him to give up his pastoral duties, and with his wife he went to Europe where they spent three years in travel and study. Returning, in 1847, he took charge of a new church in Lowell, in which he met with great success until 1851, when his health again gave way, and he found it necessary to give up work. He again visited Europe, travelled in Syria and the Holy Land, and sojourned in Italy and the south of France. Returning in 1853, his physicians advised him not to think of re-entering the ministry, and to make a trial of western climate. Accepting this advice, he removed with his family to Chicago in 1853, and forthwith set about the organization of the Chicago Historical Society. He drew its charter, and by his cultivated memory, learning and rare conversational gifts interested the leading citizens of Chicago in the enterprise. The organization was completed June 9, 1856, and he was the first secretary and librarian. Under his zealous efforts and oversight the library made rapid progress; and an elegant building supposed to be fire-proof was erected for its use and dedicated in 1868. When Mr. Barry closed his official relations with the society, on account of failing health, in 1866, in which year he again visited Europe, the library had one of the most complete collections, in any historical society in the country, of national and state public documents and works illustrating the history of the Northwest. In the great Chicago fire of October, 1871, the new building and its contents were entirely destroyed.

Since Mr. Barry's retirement, as a confirmed invalid, from the work he loved, he had rarely been seen in public; but he had charmed the friends who called upon him by his

learning, amiable manners, and delightful conversation. Mrs. Barry died in 1883, and his only son William, in 1850. Two daughters survive him, who are the wives of Mr. Lawrence Proudfoot and Mr. Belden F. Culver, both of Chicago.

Among his published writings are: "Farewell Sermon at Lowell"; "Thoughts and Duties of Neighboring Churches"; "Thoughts on Christian Doctrine"; "History of Framingham"; "Letters from the East"; "Antiquities of Wisconsin." His portrait was painted in 1883 by Mr. George P. A. Healy, and is now in possession of the family.

The Chicago Historical Society paid due honor to his memory; and Mr. E. B. McCagg, at a special meeting, read a memorial paper on his life and character. The following resolution, presented by Judge Mark Skinner and unanimously adopted, expresses the estimate in which Mr. Barry was held by his associates:

*"Resolved,* That the Chicago Historical Society in the death of Rev. William Barry mourns the departure of its original founder, its first secretary and librarian, its earliest and best friend—the one to whose zeal and enthusiasm it owes its early and great success and its establishment on a firm foundation. A profound student and accomplished writer, a courtly and elegant gentleman, he accomplished for this society at its outset and during the first year of its history surprising results, securing for it a position among kindred associations in this country and in foreign lands, and benefits, which, but for his efforts, could not have been attained."

Mr. Barry was made a member of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1859.

## PORTER C. BLISS.

PROBABLY no other member of our Society has lived a life so varied and so full of startling contrasts as our late associate, Porter Cornelius Bliss. At one time confined to his desk in the exacting occupation of editing a daily newspaper, at another exploring almost alone the vast plains of the Gran Chaco, studying the customs and dialects of the tribes of that region who are now essentially the same in their way of life as when the Spanish colonists of the new world first met with them three hundred years ago; then absorbed for months in the close study of oriental languages, spending all his time in libraries and haunts of learning; a few months later a prisoner in the hands of the ruthless tyrant, Lopez, dragged about Paraguay in the train of the fugitive dictator, ironed, beaten, tortured, starved and expecting death daily. He was a student, a diplomatist, the official historian of Paraguay, an explorer, an editor, a war correspondent and an antiquary.

Mr. Bliss was born at Collins, Erie County, New York, on the reservation of the Seneca Indians, December 28, 1838. His father, the Rev. Asher Bliss, was a missionary of the American Board to those Indians. The place of his birth, his early associations, and his father's teachings gave him an interest in the character and welfare of the Indians which lasted throughout his life. He entered Yale College in 1859, but remained there only about a year. He was also for a time a member of Hamilton College, where he received the degree of A.M. in 1862.

In 1860 he spent some months in Maine and the eastern British provinces, in visiting the surviving Indians of that region for philological purposes. He next sought from the Interior Department at Washington employment which would enable him to continue his study of the Indians by personal observation of the western tribes. He failed to obtain the situation he wished, and, dissatisfied with a clerkship, accepted an invitation from General James

Watson Webb, appointed by President Lincoln minister to Brazil, to accompany him to South America as his private secretary. This was in 1861, and at this time Mr. Bliss was chosen a member of this Society. His researches already made, the opportunities which would be at his command in South America, and his bent towards antiquarian studies gave reason to suppose that he might make important contributions to the department of knowledge in our province.

In the next year Mr. Bliss obtained from the government of the Argentine Republic a commission to explore the Gran Chaco, and was occupied for nearly a year in studying the dialects and manners of the wild tribes inhabiting that region. The results of his labors, published by the government, are now the standard authority on the Gran Chaco and its inhabitants.

For some time afterwards Mr. Bliss occupied himself in Buenos Ayres as the editor of the "Rio de la Plata" magazine. In 1866 he went to Paraguay as the private secretary of Mr. Charles A. Washburn, United States minister to that country, and was appointed by Lopez, the president, official historiographer of Paraguay. When Lopez declared war against all his neighbors Mr. Bliss fell under suspicion, was accused of treachery and placed under annoying restraint. In September, 1868, he was arrested and treated with extreme cruelty with the purpose of extorting from him a confession that he had conspired against Lopez and his government. In this miserable condition and daily in extreme peril, he remained for three months, when he was released on the demand of the United States government.

Upon his return to this country Mr. Bliss was made translator to the State Department. He was for a time in 1869-70 editor of the Washington Chronicle. In July, 1870, he was appointed Secretary of Legation to Mexico, and remained there four years, giving much attention to



the antiquities of the country. He returned from Mexico in the summer of 1874, and was employed as one of the editors of Johnson's *Encyclopædia*, having the biographical department in charge, and contributing to several others. When this work was completed in 1877, Mr. Bliss undertook the management of a new periodical called "The Library Table." He was editor and in part proprietor, but the enterprise was unprofitable and was soon abandoned. He wrote in 1878 a history of the war between Russia and Turkey which ended in that year. It was entitled "The Conquest of Turkey." It was hastily prepared, of course, and was rather good newspaper work than a contribution to permanent literature. In the same year he became one of the editors of the *New York Herald*, and in 1879 went to South America as the correspondent of that journal at the beginning of the war between the republics of the Pacific coast. He remained in South America a few months only. In 1881 he went again to Mexico in behalf of some mining enterprise. On this expedition he encountered much hardship and sowed the seeds of the malady which was the cause of his death. After his return he was too unwell to undertake any regular employment, except that for a short time in 1883 he was the editor of the *New Haven Morning News*. He died in St. Luke's Hospital, New York, February 1, 1885. Mr. Bliss received the degree of A.M. from Yale College in 1869. He was a member of the American Philological Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Ethnological Society and the American Oriental Society.

Mr. Bliss had an insatiable thirst for knowledge and for adventure, with great capacity for learning. His life was pure and his ambition honorable, but his peculiarities of temperament were such that he could never be content in one employment, or work long in harmonious co-operation with any employer or colleague.

## SAMUEL CHENERY DAMON, D.D.

[THE following obituary notice is compiled from the *Hawaiian Gazette* of February 11, the *Saturday Press* of February 14, and *The Friend* of March, 1885, published at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.]

Samuel Chenery Damon was born in Holden, Mass., February 15, 1815, and died in Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, February 7, 1885.

He graduated at Amherst College in 1836, and was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the same institution in 1868. After some time spent in teaching school, he studied from 1838 to 1841 at Princeton and Andover Theological Seminaries, and accepted an appointment by the A. B. C. F. M. as missionary to India. Though he had begun the study of the Tamil language, the Board relinquished its claim upon him to the American Seamen's Friend Society, to take the chaplaincy in Honolulu, made vacant by the death of the Rev. John Diell. He was ordained to the ministry of the gospel September 15, 1841. He was married to Miss Julia Sherman Mills October 6, 1841, embarked from New York for Honolulu March 10, 1842, and, arriving October 19, entered at once upon the duties of his chaplaincy and the pastorate of the Bethel Union Church. About a year before his death he tendered his resignation of this position, to take effect on the 70th anniversary of his birth.

The Bethel was the place of public worship for all the resident English speaking people as well as for seamen. The church was so prosperous that in 1852 a colony went forth and formed the present Fort Street Church; and in 1862 another portion went forth at the establishment of the Anglican Church.

On January 1, 1843, Mr. Damon began the publication of *The Friend*, the oldest existing newspaper in the Pacific, the successive volumes of which contain a succinct

history of the Hawaiian nation from 1843 to the present time. His printed discourses, on various occasions of public interest, number forty-six. As Honolulu was visited by thousands of foreigners annually, his name and his work became widely known. Although not directly engaged in work for non-Christian peoples, his aims and sympathies were pre-eminently missionary. His name was identified with the causes of education, philanthropy and religion. His pen, his voice and his purse have been willing servants to elevate the mind, alleviate distress, and to bless mankind with the light and the glory of the gospel.

During his period of service Dr. Damon visited other parts of the globe. His travels embraced the United States, Europe, Egypt, Palestine, China, Japan, and the Micronesian Islands. He had a large library, and of wide range; and his preaching was greatly enriched by his reading as well as by his travel.

Dr. Damon was the efficient Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of the Sailors' Home from its first organization in 1853. He was one of the original Board of Trustees named in the charter of Oahu College, granted May 20, 1853; and at the time of his death was the only one therein named still connected with the college. In 1854 he was elected Vice-President of the Board, and until 1882 was Chairman of the sub-committee on teachers and instruction. Of the Hawaiian Board of Missions he was an active member from its organization in 1863. From 1864 he was five times annually elected Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Missions. From June, 1868, he was Vice-President. In 1870 he was made Chairman of the Committee on Publication and served in this capacity nine years, seeking to forward the publication of a Christian literature in the various dialects of the North Pacific. In 1881 he was elected Chairman of the Committee on Home Missions, and held the position till his death.

The next day after his death, the remains of Dr. Damon

were buried from the Bethel Union Church, which was packed to standing room by those desirous to pay their last tribute of respect to his memory. His Majesty the King Kalakaua, his Chamberlain, Col. C. H. Judd, H. R. H. the Princess Liliuokalani, Governor and Mrs. Dominis, Ministers Gibson, Neumann and Gulick were present. The Trustees of Oahu College attended in a body.

He was elected to membership in this Society in 1869. He published the history of his native town in 1841, and gave the original manuscript to our library. At the October meeting, 1880, which he attended, he also gave the additions and corrections which he had prepared with a view to the publication of a second edition.

Dr. Damon seems to have had a genius for adapting himself to every position assigned him by Providence, and for discharging the duties of it so as to be held in universal esteem for his wisdom, beneficence, unflagging zeal, and unaffected piety. His influence on the people of his adopted country, and on the multitude of foreigners who visited it, entitles him to grateful and honored remembrance as one of the great and good men of his age. But none can appreciate him so well as the Hawaiian people, among whom his wife and three sons survive him.

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#### GEORGE HENRY PREBLE.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE HENRY PREBLE died at his home, "The Anchorage," in Brookline, Mass., on Sunday, March 1st, 1885.

The first of his family in America was Abraham Preble, who came from England about 1636, with the "Men of Kent," settled in Scituate, Mass., and married Judith Tilden, who descended from an ancient family of that name, also from the county of Kent.

The grandfather of Admiral Preble was Brigadier-General Jedidiah Preble, born at York, Me., in 1707, and one

of the early settlers of Falmouth, afterwards Portland, Me. He married first Martha Junkins, of Scotland Parish, in Old York. She died in 1753, and in May, 1754, General Preble married Mrs. Mehitable Roberts. By the second marriage there were seven children, the fifth being Enoch, born July 2, 1763, who was the father of Admiral Preble. Edward, the third son of Jedidiah Preble, and uncle of Admiral Preble, was a commodore in the U. S. Navy. Captain Enoch Preble was married in July, 1763, to Sally Cross, daughter of Thomas and Lucy Hovey Cross of Gorham, Me., the subject of this notice being their fourth child.

George Henry Preble was born at the family homestead in Portland, Me., February 25, 1816, and received his early education in the public schools of that city. He left school at the age of fourteen to go into the book store of Samuel Colman, where he remained about two years and then entered the West India goods store of his father as clerk. In 1834 he was again in the employ of Mr. Colman, who was then doing business in Cornhill, Boston, but he remained here only a short time, having been appointed a midshipman in the navy in October, 1835.

After a cruise of six months he took a brief course of study at the Naval School at Philadelphia, and in June, 1841, after a successful examination, was made a Passed Midshipman.

In 1846, as acting Master of the gun-boat *Petrel*, he took part in the siege of Vera Cruz and of the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa.

In July, 1847, he was promoted a "Master in the Line of Promotion," commissioned a Lieutenant February, 1848, a Commander July, 1862, and a Captain January 29, 1867.

While serving as a Lieutenant in 1851, he was attached to the frigate *St. Lawrence*, which carried the American contributions to the "World's Fair" at London, and had special charge of the standard weights and measures exhib-

ited by the United States Coast Survey in the Crystal Palace.

In 1853 he was detailed for duty on the *Macedonian*, which was attached to the Japan Expedition under Commodore Perry. While absent on this service he was ordered to the command of a steamer chartered by Commodore Perry for the protection of American citizens in China, and in that position made several successful expeditions against the Chinese pirates, receiving for his valuable and gallant services in one of these expeditions the thanks of his Commander and those of Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling of the British Navy.

In 1856 Lieutenant Preble was appointed Inspector of the First Light House District of Maine, with his headquarters at Portland, and was on this duty for about a year when he was ordered to the Charlestown Navy Yard.

In January, 1862, he was ordered to the command of the steam gun-boat *Katahdin*, and with her joined the West Gulf squadron, under Admiral Farragut, and in this vessel participated in the operations against New Orleans and Vicksburg, being at the attack and capture of the first named place.

In July, 1862, he was commissioned as Commander, and was on the blockade off Mobile from August 25 to October of that year. In September the rebel cruiser *Oreto* (afterward the *Florida*), flying English colors and having every appearance of being a British gunboat, succeeded in running the blockade. The *Oneida*, under command of Preble, gave chase as soon as the true character of the *Oreto* was discovered and fired a broadside at her. For allowing the *Oreto* to run the blockade Commander Preble was dismissed the service without an opportunity to be heard in his defence, but on the true facts being made known, was restored to his rank and position by the President in February, 1863, the injustice of his dismissal being admitted by all impartial judges of the circumstances.

In June, 1863, Preble took command of the *St. Louis* at Lisbon and cruised about in search of rebel cruisers till October, 1864, when he was ordered to Port Royal, S. C. In November of the same year he blockaded the North Edisto river, but was soon ordered to command the Fleet Brigade organized by Admiral Dahlgren at Port Royal, to coöperate with a land force to aid General Sherman's approach to the coast. On November 30 the Brigade engaged in the battle of Honey Hill and rendered most efficient service, receiving special praise from Admiral Dahlgren.

In April, 1865, he was in command of the steamer *State of Georgia*, and with her was at Aspinwall doing good service in the interests of American commerce. The steamer returned to New York in August, and Commander Preble was ordered to Charlestown navy yard where he remained as General Inspector of Supplies from October 14, 1865, to July 5, 1867.

From August until December, 1868, he was Chief of Staff of the North Pacific squadron, commanding the flagship *Pensacola*. He was promoted by seniority on the 16th of March, 1867, a Captain, and received his commission to rank from the 29th of January of the same year. He was commissioned as Commodore, November, 1871, and was commandant at the Philadelphia Navy Yard from 1873 to 1875.

In September, 1876, he received his commission as rear admiral, and commanded the South Pacific station in 1877-78, and was retired on half pay in February, 1878.

Admiral Preble was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1873, and was from the first one of its most useful members. As long as his health permitted he attended its meetings, and took great pleasure therein. His gifts of books and pamphlets to its library were numerous and valuable, and after his death, by his direction, four large volumes containing an interesting

collection of manuscript matter collected by him in preparing his work on the American Flag, were placed in the society's library. He also presented three volumes entitled "Instances of Reported Longevity, with notes on the same," the first volume consisting of manuscript notes and the others of newspaper cuttings.

Mr. Preble was married November 18, 1845, to Susan Zabiah, daughter of John and Thankful Harris Cox, of Portland, who died at Marblehead July 22, 1875. By this marriage there were four children, two of whom, Susie Zabiah and George Henry Rittenhouse Preble, are now living.

Admiral Preble, after his retirement from service, devoted his time to the enjoyment of his family and to literary work, contributing articles of value to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, "*The United Service*," and various newspapers of Boston and Portland. Numerous articles on the "Ships and Shipping of the world, from the Ark to the Great Eastern," were contributed to "*The United Service*" from December, 1880 to August, 1884. He had previously, in 1868, published his voluminous work on the "*First Three Generations of the Prebles in America*." In 1872 he completed and published an exhaustive work on the "*Origin and Progress of the Flag of the United States of America*," a second and enlarged edition of which was published in 1880, under the title "*History of the Flag of the United States of America, and of the Naval and Yacht-club Signals, Seals and Arms and Principal National Songs of the United States*." "*A Chronological History of the Origin and Development of Steam Navigation*," in 1883. The preparation of this volume and the collection of the material had been the work of twenty-five years preceding its publication, and it is a most valuable and interesting contribution to maritime history.

He was elected a member of the *New England Historic*,



Genealogical Society in June, 1866, admitted a member of of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1870, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1882. He was also honorary or corresponding member of the Maine, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New York and Wisconsin Historical Societies.

At the funeral services, held in Portland, Rev. Thomas Hill, D. D., made appreciative remarks upon the life and services of Admiral Preble, from which we make the following extract :

“The honored man whose mortal remains we would now consign to the tomb had lived nearly to the allotted age ; and if we measure old age by the record of work accomplished, there are few who attain a greater age than he. The name which he bore has been honored not only in our city, but over the civilized world, from before the time of his birth ; but it has received new lustre from his achievements. Taking up in early life the profession which his uncle had so highly adorned, he maintained for nearly half a century an honorable rank ; not only for those qualities which belong to a successful naval officer, but for general nobility of character, for untiring industry, strict fidelity, and perseverance in good work even under the most adverse circumstances. \* \* \* His duty to his country was never neglected ; and the variety of service which he was called upon to render to her, in the forty years of his active life, was very great. \* \* \* In the great war for the preservation of the Union he bore a laborious and an honorable part, and we would reverently thank God that by the watchful and arduous service of such men, we have still the blessings of liberty under law. But, laborious and responsible as the position of a naval officer is, it also of necessity affords frequent leisure hours, and these hours our honored friend did not waste in idleness ; but compiled in them books which will always have their value in the historical alcove.”

## CHARLES OLIVER THOMPSON.

CHARLES OLIVER THOMPSON, A.M., Ph.D., was born at East Windsor, Connecticut, September 25, 1836. His descent was from the very best type of New England ancestry. His father, Rev. and Prof. William Thompson, D.D., was at the date of his son's birth a professor in the Theological Seminary, then situated in East Windsor, but since removed to Hartford, where Dr. Thompson continued to discharge the duties of his professorship till a very recent date.

The mother of Charles Oliver, Eliza Butler Thompson, was a native of Northampton, Massachusetts. The English ancestor of her family was one of the clergymen who, in the days of Parker and Laud, sacrificed their livings rather than subscribe the act of uniformity invented by those bigots and ecclesiastical tyrants. The name of the first American ancestor of the family, Richard Butler, is found among the early settlers of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and he was one of the company, who in 1636 made their way through the wilderness and formed the settlement at Hartford, on the Connecticut river. One hundred and fifty years later, Daniel Butler, the father of Mrs. Thompson, removed from Hartford to Northampton and established himself there as a merchant. The maternal ancestors of Mrs. Thompson were of Scotch origin, and, like her paternal ancestors, were distinguished for their eminent christian lives and character.

Dr. Thompson, the subject of this sketch, was prepared for college under that distinguished scholar and educator, Dr. Paul A. Chadbourne. He entered Dartmouth College in 1854, and was among the foremost of his class at the time of his graduation in 1858. After leaving college he had charge of an academy at Peacham, Vermont, some years; he then spent a year in civil engineering in the State of New York; in 1864 he became principal of the

Cutting High School in Arlington, Massachusetts. His success as a teacher in that school brought him into favorable notice among the friends of education in the State, and led to his election as principal of the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science in 1868. After his election he had leave of absence for eight months, most of which time he spent in Europe, visiting the principal technical schools in England and on the continent. At the end of the eight months he returned, richly laden with the results of his travels and observations, and was present at the opening of the Institute in November, 1868. His inaugural address on that occasion showed how well he had employed his time and opportunities while abroad, and gave promise of those great achievements which during the following sixteen years of his busy life secured for him a national reputation as a scientific scholar and educator. At the time the Free Institute was first opened it was an uncertain problem whether practice in the shop should precede, follow or accompany instruction in the school; in other words,—whether abstract science and its practical application should be taught at the same time. During the fourteen years of Dr. Thompson's connection with the Institute that problem was successfully solved, as it had never been before, and that which was purely experimental at the beginning was a demonstrated fact at the close. It is no longer to be doubted that practice in the shop, conducted on strictly business and commercial principles, may successfully accompany instruction in the class-room; so that the student at the end of a three or four years' course of study and practice, shall have a competent knowledge of mathematics and science and the manual skill and dexterity to apply that knowledge to the arts and the practical affairs of life. And this success in a most interesting experiment of practical education was largely due to the wisdom, sagacity and personal supervision of Dr. Thompson. If not entirely competent to give instruction

in every department of the school, he knew what was required in all, and whether the work in each department was being properly performed. He possessed great versatility of talents and rare accomplishments in many different departments of knowledge. In addition to his labors as principal of the Institute and giving instruction in his own special department of chemistry, he annually, for several years, delivered courses of lectures on chemistry before the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. He was also much employed as analyst in matters involving legal investigations in the courts. He took a deep interest in the public schools of the city, and gave his invaluable services several years as a member of the School Board. He was an active member of the religious society, and other kindred associations with which he was connected during his residence in Worcester.

In 1882, after having declined several overtures that would have withdrawn him from the Institute and this community, with which he had become so intimately connected, he finally, in April of that year, accepted the Presidency of the Rose Polytechnic Institute at Terre Haute, Indiana. He again spent eight months in Europe, visiting during the time the celebrated technical schools in Russia, and informing himself fully as to the present state of technical education abroad. In March, 1883, he delivered his inaugural address before the Rose Polytechnic Institute, and entered at once upon the duties of the Presidency of that Institute, which was then just beginning the first year of its existence as a school; and during the next two years, which terminated with his death on the 17th of March, 1885, he accomplished what might have occupied ten years of the life of an ordinary man. He died in the midst of his labors, and in the full possession of his rare mental and moral endowments, universally honored and lamented wherever he was known. But his name is indissolubly connected with two noble institutions

of learning, one in the east and one in the west, which will perpetuate his memory as long as genius and virtue are honored among men.

Dr. Thompson was elected a member of this Society in April, 1878. At the semi-annual meeting in April, 1882, he read a most interesting paper on Robert Boyle, entitled "A Study in Biography."

In May, 1862, he married Maria Goodrich, daughter of Dr. Horace Goodrich, of East Windsor Hill, Connecticut. His widow, two sons and a daughter survive him.

The foregoing are the more prominent events in the life of the subject of this sketch. A full statement of his works and life would require many pages. Dr. Thompson was not only a profound student in his own chosen departments of learning, but in belles-lettres he was highly accomplished. He had a competent knowledge of several languages and was master of all that was best in the literature of his own. As a writer and speaker his style was singularly clear and brilliant. His arrowy sentences never failed to arrest attention and fix themselves in the memory of his auditors. In his inaugural address at the opening of the Worcester Free Institute, in stating the purpose of the founders, he said "They aim at helping on that grand equipoise of intelligence, when, behind the arm that smites the anvil or guides the plough, there shall dwell a soul tranquillized by the same philosophy and stirred by the same high hopes that guide the pen of the scholar, or breathe inspiration into the words of the orator." In his address at the opening of the Rose Polytechnic Institute, speaking of the character of the work that should be done in the shop, he said "There is no merit or charm in work, considered merely as work; to work to produce something that some one else wants and cannot make for himself and is able to pay for is the stimulus of industry. All work in school-shops or any other will ultimately obey this law or else it will evaporate into exercise or sport." In his paper

on Robert Boyle, read before the American Antiquarian Society, he said "The era of progress in science begins with Lord Bacon; but the *Instauratio Magna* was a method; and had not Locke and Boyle worked it out and given it practical efficiency—one in the science of mind, the other in the sciences of matter—it might have lain neglected; there would have been great admiration of it as an intellectual achievement, but no science of chemistry." His brief addresses to the graduating classes of the Institute were models of their kind, full of wise counsel and aptest illustrations of the advice given. There is no space left here for quotations from these rare productions. Dr. Thompson was a brilliant talker, his conversation abounded in keen wit and pleasant humor. His friendships were cordial and abiding. His was the soul of honor, and in his conduct he was more than knightly. He was a welcome guest everywhere, and more than repaid the most liberal hospitality by the pleasure which he imparted to every company of which he formed a part. His industry was unceasing, and although he was a teacher of others, he was ever himself a learner. It has been shown that he was descended from a godly race, and he was an illustration of the law of heredity by being himself a man of profound religious convictions and life. But while decided and inflexible in his own opinions as to matters fundamental, he was liberal and charitable in his judgments of others who differed from him in opinion; and in commenting upon the apparent errors in the conduct of other men, he was often heard to express his own sentiment in regard to such errors, in the following words from one of his favorite poets:

" Then at the balance let's be mute,  
We never can adjust it,  
What's done we partly may compute,  
But know not what's resisted."

In closing this friendly, but most inadequate tribute to his memory, it may be said that Dr. Thompson was fortunate in securing an immortality among scholars, by associating his name with a system of education which is new, but which is destined to have a most important influence on the future progress and welfare of his fellow-men.

**OFFICERS ELECTED OCTOBER, 1884.**

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STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

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*Librarian.*

MR. EDMUND MILLS BARTON.

*Assistant-Librarian.*

MR. REUBEN COLTON.

## MEMBERS.

MAY 1, 1885.

The letter *l.* indicates that the member against whose name it is placed has paid a life assessment of fifty dollars.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	ELECTED.
<i>l.</i> HON. GEORGE BANCROFT, D.C.L.,	Newport, R. I.,	October, 1838.
HON. ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1838.
HON. PELEG WHITMAN CHANDLER, LL.D.,	" "	May, 1843.
REV. GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS, LL.D.,	" "	" 1847.
REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.,	" "	October, 1847.
HON. JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS,	Washington, D. C.,	April, 1851.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	October, 1851.
<i>l.</i> HON. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D.,	Worcester, "	April, 1853.
WILLIAM SUMNER BARTON, A.M.,	" "	" 1854.
JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, LL.D.,	Madison, Wis.,	" 1854.
<i>l.</i> HON. JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D.,	Hartford, Conn.,	" 1855.
EDWARD TUCKERMAN, LL.D.,	Amherst, Mass.,	" 1855.
HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1856.
HON. EBENEZER TORREY,	Fitchburg, Mass.,	" 1856.
REV. ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, LL.D.,	Cambridge, "	October, 1856.
GEORGE CHANDLER, M.D.,	Worcester, "	" 1857.
THOMAS COFFIN AMORY, A.M.,	Boston, "	April, 1858.
EDWIN HAMILTON DAVIS, M.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1858.
HON. PETER CHILD BACON, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	October, 1860.
HON. HORACE GRAY, LL.D.,	Boston, "	" 1860.
JOHN STRONG NEWBERRY, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1860.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1860.
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D.,	" "	" 1860.
<i>l.</i> EDWARD ELBRIDGE SALISBURY, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	" 1861.
HON. HORACE DAVIS,	San Francisco, Cal.,	April, 1862.
HON. WILLIAM CROWNSHIELD ENDICOTT, LL.D.,	Salem, Mass.,	October, 1862.
JAMES HENRY SALISBURY, M.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1862.
PLINY EARLE CHASE, LL.D.,	Haverford College, Montgomery Co., Pa.,	" 1863.
MR. CHARLES BABCOCK SALISBURY,	Little York, N. Y.,	" 1863.
<i>l.</i> STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1863.

MARTIN BREWER ANDERSON, LL.D.,	Rochester, N. Y.,	April, 1864.
ASHBEL WOODWARD, M.D.,	Franklin, Conn.,	October, 1864.
REV. CALVIN ELLIS STOWE, D.D.,	Hartford, "	April, 1865.
HON. PELEG EMORY ALDRICH,	Worcester, Mass.,	October, 1865.
1. HON. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, M.D.,	Boston, "	" 1865.
REV. ELIAS NASON, A.M.,	North Billerica, Mass.,	" 1865.
FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D.,	Boston, "	" 1865.
HON. ELIJAH BRIGHAM STODDARD,	Worcester, "	" 1865.
RUFUS WOODWARD, M.D.	" "	" 1865.
JOHN GEORGE METCALF, M.D.,	Mendon, "	April, 1867.
1. REV. GEORGE STURGIS PAINE, A.M.,	Worcester, "	" 1867.
1. HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS,	" "	October, 1867.
HON. HORATIO GATES JONES, D.C.L.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1867.
WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1867.
WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	April, 1868.
1. HON. CHARLES HENRY BELL, LL.D.,	Exeter, N. H.,	October, 1868.
HON. JAMES CARSON BREVOORT, LL.D.,	Brooklyn, N. Y.,	" 1868.
REV. HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D.D.,	New Bedford, Mass.,	April, 1869.
HON. CHARLES COLCOCK JONES, JR., LL.D.,	Augusta, Ga.,	" 1869.
JOHN EDWIN MASON, M.D.,	Washington, D. C.	" 1869.
HON. FRANCIS HENSHAW DEWEY, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	October, 1869.
MR. JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL,	Charlestown, "	" 1869.
REV. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D.,	Andover, "	April, 1870.
COL. CHARLES WHITTLESEY,	Cleveland, Ohio,	" 1870.
DANIEL GARRISON BRINTON, M.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	October, 1870.
MR. ROBERT CLARKE,	Cincinnati, Ohio,	April, 1871.
HON. ISAAC SMUCKER,	Newark, "	" 1871.
HON. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1871.
REV. ROBERT CASSIE WATERSTON, A.M.,	Boston, "	" 1871.
HENRY WHEATLAND, M.D.,	Salem, "	" 1871.
GEORGE WILLIAM CHILDS, A.M.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1872.
BENSON JOHN LOSSING, LL.D.,	Dover Plains, N. Y.,	October, 1872.
FERDINAND VANDEVEER HAYDEN, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1873.
THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1874.
MAJ. BENJAMIN PERLEY POORE,	West Newbury, "	" 1874.
HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, A.M.,	San Francisco, Cal.,	April, 1875.
REV. EDWARD HENRY HALL, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1875.
ALBERT HARRISON HOYT, A.M.,	Boston, "	" 1875.
REV. WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, D.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	October, 1875.
1. REV. EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER, A.M.,	Lexington, Mass.,	April, 1876.
EDWARD HITCHCOCK, M.D.,	Amherst, "	" 1876.
REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD, LL.D.,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1876.
MR. CHARLES CARD SMITH,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1876.
FRANCIS AMASA WALKER, LL.D.,	" "	October, 1876.
HON. ALPHONSO TAFT, LL.D.,	Cincinnati, Ohio,	" 1876.
LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, LL.D.,	Madison, Wis.,	" 1877.

OTHNIEL CHARLES MARSH, A.M.,	New Haven, Conn.,	October, 1877.
WILLIAM FREDERIC POOLE, LL.D.,	Chicago, Ill.,	" 1877.
ROBERT ALONZO BROCK, Esq.,	Richmond, Va.,	" 1877.
JOSEPH JONES, M.D.,	New Orleans, La.,	" 1877.
HON. JAMES VALENTINE CAMPBELL, LL.D.,	Detroit, Mich.,	" 1877.
JOHN THOMAS DOYLE, A.M.,	San Francisco, Cal.,	April, 1878.
SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, A.B.,	West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.,	" 1878.
THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1878.
HON. HAMILTON BARCLAY STAPLES, LL.D.,	" "	" 1878.
I. MR. EDMUND MILLS BARTON,	" "	October, 1878.
HON. CHARLES DEVENS, LL.D.,	" "	" 1878.
HON. THOMAS LEVERETT NELSON,	" "	" 1878.
REV. LUCIUS ROBINSON PAIGE, D.D.,	Cambridge,	" 1878.
CHARLES RAU, PH.D.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1878.
I. FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A.M.,	New Haven, Conn.,	April, 1879.
REV. MOSES COIT TYLER, LL.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.,	" 1879.
PHILIPP JOHN JOSEPH VALENTINI, PH.D.,	New York,	" 1879.
HON. JOHN JAMES BELL,	Exeter, N. H.,	" 1879.
HON. JOSEPH BURBEEN WALKER,	Concord,	" 1879.
REV. GEORGE PARK FISHER, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	October, 1879.
GEORGE HENRY MOORE, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	April, 1880.
MR. GEORGE P. BRINLEY,	Newington Junction, Conn.,	" 1880.
SPENCER FULLERTON BAIRD, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1880.
I. CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1880.
I. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M.,	" "	" 1880.
JUSTIN WINSOR, A.B.,	Cambridge,	October, 1880.
HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.,	April, 1881.
MR. ADOLPHE F. BANDELIER,	Highland, Ill.,	" 1881.
HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1881.
FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, LL.D.,	Easton, Pa.,	October, 1881.
I. HON. EDWARD ISAIAH THOMAS,	Brookline, Mass.,	" 1881.
HENRY CABOT LODGE, PH.D.,	Nahant,	" 1881.
I. GEN. HORATIO ROGERS,	Providence, R. I.,	April, 1882.
REV. STEPHEN DENNISON PEET,	Clinton, Wis.,	" 1882.
MR. JOHN FLETCHER WILLIAMS,	St. Paul, Minn.,	" 1882.
HENRY HITCHCOCK, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.,	" 1882.
RT. REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, LL.D.,	Davenport, Iowa,	" 1882.
FREDERICK WARD PUTNAM, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1882.
SOLOMON LINCOLN, A.M.,	Boston,	" 1882.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, S.B.,	San Francisco, Cal.,	" 1882.
REV. GYRUS HAMLIN, LL.D.,	Middlebury, Vt.,	" 1883.
JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.,	October, 1883.
REV. CHARLES MARION LAMSON, A.M.,	" "	" 1883.
HON. HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE,	Lancaster,	" 1883.
PROF. JOHN BACH MCMASTER,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	April, 1884.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M.,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1884.

I. REV. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	April, 1884.
HON. ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, LL.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.,	October, 1884.
HENRY ADAMS, A.B.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1884.
JOHN FISKE, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1884.
DANIEL COIT GILMAN, LL.D.,	Baltimore, Md.,	" 1884.
SAMUEL JENNISON, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1884.
WILLIAM HARDEN, Esq.,	Savannah, Ga.,	" 1884.
HENRY WALBRIDGE TAFT, Esq.,	Pittsfield, Mass.,	" 1884.
MR. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN DWIGHT,	Auburn, N. Y.,	April, 1885.
REV. EBENEZER CUTLER, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1885.
REUBEN COLTON, A.B.,	" "	" 1885.
HON. WILLIAM WHITNEY RICE,	" "	" 1885.
REV. JOSEPH ANDERSON, D.D.,	Waterbury, Conn.,	" 1885.
ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1885.
MR. HENRY HERBERT EDES,	Charlestown, "	" 1885.

## FOREIGN MEMBERS.

## CANADA.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	ELECTED.
LOUIS ADOLPHE HUGUET-LATOURE, A.M.,	Montreal,	April, 1861.
DANIEL WILSON, LL.D.,	Toronto,	" 1861.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

HENRY STEVENS, F.S.A.,	London,	April, 1854.
WILLIAM NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq.,	"	October, 1867.
THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, D.C.L.,	"	" 1869.
LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.,	"	April, 1870.
JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L.,	Oxford,	" 1882.
EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN, D.C.L.,	"	" 1885.

## SOUTH AMERICA.

H.I.M. DOM PEDRO, EMPEROR OF BRAZIL,	April, 1858.
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## ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

GUILLERMO RAWSON, M.D.,	Buenos Ayres,	April, 1879.
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## GERMAN EMPIRE.

JOHANN KARL EDUARD BUSCHMANN, Ph. D.,	Berlin,	October, 1870.
THEODOR MOMMSEN, Ph. D.,	"	" 1870.
OTTO KELLER, Ph. D.,	Stuttgart,	April, 1875.
HEINRICH FISCHER, Ph. D.,	Freiburg,	October, 1881.
HERMANN VON HOLST, Ph. D.,	"	" 1882.

1885.]

*Members.*

513

## GREECE.

HENRY SCHLIEMANN, LL.D., Athens, April, 1881.

## FRANCE.

PROF. EDOUARD CHEVALIER, Paris, October, 1882.  
JAMES JACKSON, F.R.G.S., " " 1882.

## SPAIN.

DON MARCO XIMINES DE LA ESPADA, Madrid, October, 1882.  
DON JUSTO ZARAGOZA, " " 1882.

## MEXICO.

SEÑOR RODULFO GREGORIO CANTON, Mérida de Yucatan, April, 1878.  
SEÑOR ANDRES AZNAR PÉREZ, " " October, 1879.  
SEÑOR ELIGIO ANCONA, " " April, 1880.  
SEÑOR ALFREDO CHAVERO, Mexico. " 1881.  
SEÑOR JOAQUIN GARCIA ICAZBALCETA, " " 1881.  
SEÑOR GUMESINDO MENDOZA, " " 1881.  
SEÑOR JOAQUIN HÜBBE, Mérida de Yucatan, October, 1881.  
MR. LOUIS HENRY AYMÉ, " " April, 1882.  
SEÑOR JUSTO BENITEZ, Mexico, " 1884.  
SEÑOR ARTURO SHIELS, Isla del Carmen, Campeche, " 1884.

## ITALY.

COMMENDATORE GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE ROSSI, Rome, April, 1882.



# INDEX.

## A.

Abbott, Charles C., 93, 336.  
 Acadie, act providing for the support of the exiles of, in Massachusetts, 175.  
 Accessions to the Library, number of, 38, 51, 96, 138, 319, 368, 369.  
 Adam, Lucien, 476.  
 Adams, *Miss* Hannah, 391.  
 Adams, Henry, elected a member, 223.  
 Adams, Herbert B., 81.  
 Adams, John, 2. His "Discourse on Government" cited, 362.  
 Adams, Zabdiel B., 58.  
 Agassiz, Alexander, 451, 470.  
 Agassiz, Louis, 25.  
 Agnese, Baptista, 38.  
 Aiken, John, 343.  
 Ailly, Pierre d', 29.  
 Alarcon, Hernando de, 80.  
 Alden, Ebenezer, 381.  
 Alden Fund, 75, 128, 308, 315, 373, 377.  
 Aldrich, P. Emory, 78, 92, 388, 396.  
 Elected a Councillor, 3, 224.  
 Presents the Report of the Council, 96-124. Tribute to Stephen Salisbury, 219-221. His report as to the disposition of the income of the Lincoln Legacy Fund, 304, 305. Appointed to prepare a memoir of Charles O. Thompson, 343. His memoir of Charles O. Thompson, 501-506.  
 Aldworth, Robert, 231.  
 Allahabad, *India*, 178, 180.  
 Allen, John, 279.  
 American Antiquarian Society, "Proceedings" cited, 61. Its collection of manuscripts, 381. Its collection of portraits, 382. Its collection of duplicate newspapers, 384.  
 American Philosophical Society, 207.

Ames, Ellis, 51, 158. His death announced, 343. Biographical sketch of, by Thomas L. Nelson, 482, 483.  
 Ames, Fisher, 413, 482.  
 Ames, Jonathan, Jr., 482.  
 Ames, Oakes, 482.  
 Ames, William, 482.  
 Amesbury, *Mass.*, 176.  
 Ammidown, Holmes, 324.  
 Anabaptists, their exemption from taxation for the support of ministers, in Massachusetts, 160.  
 Anderson, Joseph, elected a member, 340.  
 Andover, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 488.  
 Andover, *Mass.*, 174, 176.  
 André, John, 324.  
 Andrews, *Col.* Timothy, 262.  
 Annual meeting of the Society, Oct. 22, 1883, 1, Oct. 21, 1884, 222.  
 Apian, Peter, his Map of the World, 27, 32.  
 Arnold, Benedict, 99.  
 Atwater, Caleb, 10, 15.  
 Auditors, see Davis, Edward L., Chase, Charles A., and Smith, William A.  
 Austin, Josiah, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Avezac-Macaya, Marie Armand Pascal d', 31.  
 Avon, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 443.  
 Aymé, Louis H., 451, 470.

## B.

Babylon, the stone implements of, 185-187.  
 Baird, Spencer F., 143, 381.  
 Baker, John R., 413.  
 Baker, Samuel, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Baldwin, Christopher C., 130.  
 Baldwin, John D., his death announced, 39, 40.



- Ball, V., 178. His "Manual of the Geology of India" cited, 181, 182.
- Ballot, notes on the, 87-91.
- Bancroft, Aaron, 61, 817.
- Bancroft, George, 2, 161, 226, 232, 252. Elected Vice-President, 3, 224. Presents the Report of the Council, 36-50. The relations between Hamilton and Washington, 41-50. His "History of the United States" cited, 88 n. His letter containing his recollections of Stephen Salisbury, 247, 248.
- Bancroft, Hubert H., his "History of the Pacific States of North America" cited, 265.
- Bandelier, Adolphe F., 9.
- Bangs, Edward D., 822.
- Banking, First Essays at, article on, by J. Hammond Trumbull, 266-303.
- Barlee, Edward, 265.
- Barlee, Sir Frederick Palgrave, his death noticed, 265. Sketch of his life, 265, 266.
- Barnstable County, *Mass.*, 174.
- Barry, Esther, 487.
- Barry, William, his death announced, 348. Biographical sketch of, by William F. Poole, 487-489.
- Bartlett, John R., 57.
- Bartol, George M., 384.
- Barton, Charles H., 134.
- Barton, Edmund M., 2, 86-88, 96, 223, 340. Presents his Reports as Librarian, 51-61, 130-147, 310-326, 380-397.
- Barton, George E., 134.
- Barton, Ira M., 105.
- Barton, William S., 133, 323.
- Bastian, Adolph, 466, 467, 471.
- Batchellor, Henry, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Bates, Clement, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Baylies, Francis, his "Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth" cited, 113.
- Baylies, William, 482.
- Beck, Miss Anna, 208.
- Beck, Prof., 208.
- Bedford, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Behring, Vitus, 30.
- Belcher, Andrew, 429.
- Beltran, Pedro, 210.
- Benitez, Justo, elected a member, 78.
- Benson, Egbert, his list of the authors of the Federalist, 411-418.
- Benson, Robert, 412, 415.
- Berendt, Carl Hermann, 92. Memoir of, by Daniel G. Brinton, 205-210. Portrait of, 205. List of his published works, 208.
- Berendt, George Karl, 205.
- Berendt, Max, 208.
- Berendt, Nathaniel, 205.
- Berkhamstead, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.
- Berlin, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.
- Bernouilly, Dr., 469.
- Bertrand, Alex., 461.
- Besbridge, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Best, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Bigelow, Erastus B., 395.
- Bigelow, George T., 364.
- Bigelow, Jacob, 233.
- Billerica, *Mass.*, 176.
- Billings, Edwin T., 141, 396.
- Billings, John S., 55.
- Birmingham, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.
- Blackstone, Sir William, his "Commentaries" cited, 347.
- Blackwell, John, 266, 275-278, 281.
- Bliss, Asher, 491.
- Bliss, Porter C., his death announced, 348. Biographical sketch of, by J. Evarts Greene, 490-492.
- Bloomfield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 442.
- "Body of Liberties" cited, 352-354.
- Bohn, Henry George, 319.
- Bolton, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 432.
- Bonney, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Bookbinding Fund, 73, 126, 306, 372, 376.
- Borden, Bryant, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Boturini Benaduci, Lorenzo, 479.
- Bourne, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Boutwell, Francis M., 138.
- Boykett, Jarvis, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Boynton, John, 236.

- Bozrah, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 444.  
 Bradford, William, 850.  
 Bradstreet, Simon, *Gov.*, 269, 277 n.  
 Branford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 427.  
 Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Abbé*, 209, 210.  
 Brereton, William, 272.  
 Bridgeport, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 439.  
 Brigden, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Brinley, George, 267, 308, 318.  
 Brinton, Daniel G., 92, 189, 396. Memoir of Carl Hermann Berendt, 205-210 His exposure of the authenticity of Haumonté's grammar of the Taensa tribe of Indians, 475-477.  
 Briscoe, John, 274.  
 Bristol, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.  
 Bristol County, *Mass.*, 174.  
 British Museum, 817.  
 Brooke, *Baron*, 427.  
 Brookfield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Brookfield, *Mass.*, 176.  
 Brooklyn, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 437, 438.  
 Brooks, Eben S., 106.  
 Brooks, Robert, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Brooks, Thomas, 441.  
 Brown, George W., 138.  
 Brown, Innes, 180.  
 Brown, John Carter, 318. The library of, 206.  
 Brown, *Col.* Samuel, 438.  
 Bruzelius, N. G., 462.  
 Buenaventura, Gabriel, 210.  
 Bullock, *Mrs.* Alexander H., 137.  
 Burbank, Gardner, 322.  
 Burchell, S. W., 184.  
 Burgess, James, 464.  
 Burnside, Samuel M., 130, 233.  
 Burrill, John, 277 n., 290.  
 Butler, Daniel, 501.  
 Butler, Eliza, 501.  
 Butler, James D., 335.  
 Butler, Nathaniel, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Butler, Richard, 501.  
 C.  
 Cabot, George, his list of the authors of the *Federalist*, 413.  
 Cabot, Sebastian, 33. His map of the world, 30, 32.  
 Cade, Jack, 356.  
 Cæsar, Caius Julius, his "De Bello Gallico" cited, 345, 346.  
 Cakchiquel, dialect, 209.  
 Call, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Campbell, James B., his death announced, 104. Sketch of his life, 104, 105.  
 Campbell, James V., 888.  
 Canfield, *Mrs.* Penelope Lincoln, 323.  
 Canterbury, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 432.  
 Canton, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.  
 Capen, Edward, 482.  
 Capen, Sally, 482.  
 Carlton, Samuel, 89.  
 Castillo, Domingo del, 30.  
 Catullus, Caius Valerius, his Epigram on Arrius, translated by Nott, 368.  
 Chadbourne, Paul A., 501.  
 Chalmers, George, 171.  
 Chace, George I., 482.  
 Chamberlen, *Dr.*, 274.  
 Champion, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Chandler, Annis, 97.  
 Chandler, George, 133, 145, 389. The publication of the second edition of his "Genealogy of the Chandler Family," 52. His gift to the Society, for procuring works on genealogy and kindred subjects, 96, 97.  
 Chandler, William, 97.  
 Chandler Fund, 125, 128, 309, 319, 374, 378.  
 Chantre, Ernest, 461, 463.  
 Chapin, Henry, his "Council Report" April, 1870, cited, 113, 114.  
 Chaplin, Benjamin, 441.  
 Chaplin, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Charnay, Désiré, 469.  
 Chase, Charles A., elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 4, 225. Elected an Auditor, 4, 225. Certificate as Auditor, 76, 129, 309, 379. Elected a Councillor, 224.  
 Chastellux, François Jean, *Marquis de*, his "Voyages dans l'Amerique

- Septentrionale dans les *Années 1780-82*" cited, 42 n.
- Chatham, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 434.
- Checkley, Samuel, 301.
- Cheever, Bartholemew, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Chelmsford, *Mass.*, 176.
- Cheshire, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Chester, John, 302.
- Chester, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.
- Chesterfield, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Chilapas, *Mexico*, 206.
- Chicago Historical Society, 139, 141.
- "Chilan-Balam," the books of, 210.
- Child, Robert, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- China, stone implements of, 183, 184.
- Chittenden, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Chittenden, William, 426.
- Church, Philip, 412.
- Clarke, Robert, 52, 320.
- Coban, *Guatemala*, 207, 209.
- Cobb, Henry, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Cockburn, J., 178, 180.
- Coe, Abby, 258.
- Cohasset, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 442.
- Coke, *Sir Edward*, 352.
- Colchester, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 432.
- Colden, Cadwallader, his "History of the Five Nations" cited, 282 n.
- Cole, Isaac, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Coleman, William, 412.
- Collection and Research Fund, 72, 126, 306, 372, 375.
- Colman, John, 290.
- Colman, Samuel, 496.
- Colton, John B., 393.
- Colton, Reuben, 37, 124. Elected a member, 340.
- Columbia, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Columbus, Christopher, 26, 29, 31.
- Comins, William D., 187.
- Connecticut, Colonial Records of, cited, 287, 301, 302. The history of, as illustrated by the names of her towns, article on, by Franklin B. Dexter, 431-448. The meaning of the name of, 423. A list of the incorporated towns in, 446-448.
- Connecticut Historical Society, 301.
- Cooke, Elisha, 289, 290.
- Cooke, George L., 56.
- Cooke, Joseph J., 317. His bequest to the Society, 38. The sale of the library of, 55, 56. Accessions to the library from the sale of the library of, 134-137.
- Cooke, J. Esten, 392.
- Corcoran, William W., 54.
- Cornell University, the departments of its library, 143. McGraw Library Fund of, 144.
- Cornwall, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Cortereal, Gaspard, 33, 34.
- Council of the Society, members of, elected Oct. 22, 1883, 8. Annual report of, 36-50, 257-303. Semi-annual report of, 96-124, 342-371. Action of, on the death of Dwight Foster, 94, 95. Its resolution accepting Mr. Salisbury's gift of site for a new hall, and five thousand dollars to aid in its construction, 140. Action of, on the death of Mr. Salisbury, 211-221.
- Cortez, Hernando, 30, 458.
- Courts, the establishment of, in Massachusetts, 161, 162.
- Coventry, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.
- Cox, John, 499.
- Cox, Joseph, 10.
- Cox, Susie Zablah, 499.
- Cox, Thankful Harris, 499.
- Cox, *Judge*, 10.
- Coze, Daniel, 377.
- Criminal Code of Massachusetts, 165-167.
- Cromwell, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.
- Cross, Lucy Hovey, 496.
- Cross, Sally, 496.
- Cross, Thomas, 496.
- Culver, Belden F., 489.
- Cumarola, *Italy*, 439.
- Cushing, Caleb, 232, 252.
- Cushing, Thomas, 323.
- Cushman, Robert, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Cutler, Ebenezer, elected a mem-

- ber, 340. Appointed to prepare a memoir of Samuel C. Damon, 343. Memoir of Dr. Damon by, 493-495.
- Cutter, Charles A., 386, 394.
- D.
- Dahlgren, *Admiral* John A., 498.
- Damon, Samuel C., his death announced, 343. Biographical sketch of, by Ebenezer Cutler, 493-495.
- Dana, Richard, 109.
- Danbury, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.
- Dantzig, *Germany*, 205.
- Daniels, George F., 138.
- Darlen, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.
- Davenport, John, 425.
- Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, 261.
- Davis, Dolor, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Davis, Edward L., 55, 93, 133, 388. Elected an Auditor, 4. Elected Recording Secretary *pro tempore*, 77. Certificate as Auditor, 76, 129, 309. Elected a Councillor, 224.
- Davis, Edwin Hamilton, 468.
- Davis, George L., 138.
- Davis, Horace, 388, 390.
- Davis, Isaac, 55, 323, 324.
- Davis, *Gov.* John, 141. His tribute to William Lincoln in the "Proceedings" October, 1843, cited, 312-314.
- Davis, Joseph E., 323, 393.
- Davis Fund, 74, 127, 307, 319, 373, 376.
- Dawson, Henry B., 409, 415.
- Dean, Paul, 99.
- Deane, Charles, 32, 34, 78, 107, 221, 222, 258, 342, 392. Elected Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, 4. 224. Elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 4, 225. Remarks on Johann Schöner's "Opusculum Geographicum," with extracts, 26-31. Communicates the doings of the Massachusetts Historical Society upon the death of Stephen Salisbury. 249-251. Appointed one of the committee to commemorate the discovery of America by Columbus, 341.
- Deane, Lucy W., 107.
- Deerfield, *Mass.*, 176.
- Derby, Richard, 89.
- Derby, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.
- Devens, Charles, speaks of a portrait of Hamilton, 3.
- Dewey, Melvil, 387, 394.
- Dexter, Edmund, 106.
- Dexter, Franklin B., 340. Presents an article on "The History of Connecticut as illustrated by the Names of her Towns," 421-448.
- Dexter, George, 111. His death announced, 105. Sketch of his life, 105-108.
- Dexter, Henry M., 3. His "Address at the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Congregational Church in Essex," cited, 293, 294.
- Dexter, Mary Ann, 106.
- Diell, *Rev.* John, 493.
- Dix, Elijah, 97.
- Dodge, Pickering, 57.
- Domenech, Emmanuel, his publication of and connection with the "Manuscrit pictographique Américaine," etc., 477-481.
- Donors and donations, list of, 62-70, 148-157, 327-334, 398-408.
- Douglas, Albert, Jr., 16.
- Drake, Samuel G., his "History of Boston" cited, 301.
- Draper, Lyman C., 53.
- Dravid, *aborigines of India*, 180.
- Drayton, Michael, 346, 347. His "Poly-Olbion," cited, 347.
- Drew Theological Seminary, 101.
- Drury College, *Missouri*, 141.
- Dryden, John, 91.
- Dudley, Joseph, 266, 269, 275, 277, 278, 290.
- Dudley, Paul, his "Objections to the Bank of Credit," etc. cited, 290-292.
- Dudley, Samuel, 269.
- Dudley, Thomas, 268.
- Dukes County, *Mass.*, recognized as a county, 159.
- Dummer, Jeremiah, 288.
- Dunk, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Dunstable, *Mass.*, 176.
- Dupaix, Guillermo, 450, 451, 469-472.
- Durham, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 432.

Dwight, Theodore F., elected a member, 339.

## E.

Eads, James B., 394.  
 Earle, John Milton, founder of the Worcester Daily Spy, 39.  
 Early, Samuel S., elected a member, 78. His death noticed, 261. Account of his life, 262, 263.  
 East Haddam, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 423.  
 Eaton, William, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Edes, Henry H., elected a member, 340.  
 Edwards, Edward, 147.  
 Elbridge, Giles, 231.  
 Elliot, Samuel A., 253.  
 Ellington, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 437.  
 Ellis, George E., 35, 310, 396. Observations on Mr. Putnam's account of his archaeological excursions in Wisconsin and Ohio, 22-26. Remarks on the origin and method of the New England Town Institutions, 78-81. Tribute to Hon. Stephen Salisbury, 213. Remarks on the "Partial Index" of Mr. Salisbury, 225, 226. Moves that a committee be appointed to commemorate the discovery of America by Columbus, 340. Appointed a member of the committee, *ib.*  
 Elton, Charles L., 352.  
 Emerson, George B., 232, 252.  
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 146.  
 Endicott, Gov. John, 121, 238.  
 Enfield, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 438.  
 Epes, Daniel, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Escott, T. H. S., 362.  
 Essex, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 440.  
 Essex County, Mass., 173.  
 Evans, John, 183, 336. His "Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain" cited, 337, 464, 466, 461.  
 Everden, Walter, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Everett, Edward, 233, 361, 390.  
 Ewbank, Thomas, 338, 465.  
 Ewell, Henry, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.

## F.

Fairfield, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 428.  
 Farmer, Silas, 53.  
 Farmington, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 428.  
 Farquharson, Robert J., his death announced, 260. Sketch of his life, 260, 261.  
 Farragut, Admiral David G., 497.  
 Federalist, the Authorship of the, article on, by Henry Cabot Lodge, 409-420.  
 Felt, Joseph B., 266, 276 n., 277, 289, 299. His "Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency" cited, 271, 277, 288, 290, 293.  
 Fessenden, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Field, Thomas W., his "Essay on Indian Bibliography" cited, 481.  
 Filson, John, the first edition of his "Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke," 320.  
 Finæus, Orontius, 30.  
 "First Essays at Banking, and the first Paper Money in New England," article on the, by J. Hammond Trumbull, 266-303.  
 Fischer, Heinrich, 52, 92. Presents a paper on "The Stone Implements of Asia," 178-204.  
 Fischer, Prof. of Kiel, 33.  
 Fisher, Maturin L., 130.  
 Fiske, John, elected a member, 77.  
 Fiske, Mrs. Willard, 144.  
 Fitch, Mrs. Minna V., 139.  
 Fletcher, Sir L., 184.  
 Flint, Earl, 92.  
 Forsyth, Sir D., 183.  
 Foster, Alfred Dwight, 95, 110.  
 Foster, Alfred D., 95, 111.  
 Foster, Dwight, the elder, 95, 110.  
 Foster, Dwight, 317. Elected a Councillor, 3. His death announced, 108. Sketch of his life, 108-111. Action of the Council on the death of, 94, 95.  
 Foster, Edward, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Foster, Jedediah, 95, 110.  
 Fox, A. H. Lane, 471 n.  
 Franklin, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Freeling, Sir Sanford, 266.  
 Freeman, Edward A., elected a

- member, 840. His "American Institutional History" cited, 117. His "Norman Conquest" cited, 349.
- "French Fabrications or Blunders in American Linguistics," article on, by Henry W. Haynes, 475-481.
- Friends, Society of, 160.
- Frisbie, Levi, 233.
- Frothingham, Richard, his "History of Charlestown" cited, 114. His "Council Report" Oct., 1870, cited, 114.
- Fuller, Thomas, his "Worthies of England" cited, 869.
- G.
- Gage, *Gen.* Thomas, 110.
- Gardiner, Curtiss C., 187.
- Gardner, Jonathan, Jr., 89.
- Gatschet, Albert S., 475.
- Gaviones, *Indians*, 456.
- Geoghegan, Thomas G., an obituary notice of, 344.
- Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, "Proceedings" cited, 187.
- Gideon, Jacob, Jr., 414, 416.
- Gilman, Daniel C., 388. Elected a member, 223.
- Glastonbury, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.
- Goddard, Lucius P., 394.
- Goodell, Abner C., Jr., 138, 158.
- Goodhue, Nicholas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Goodhue, William, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Goodrich, Horace, 504.
- Goodrich, Maria, 504.
- Gookin, Daniel, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Goshen, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 439.
- Gould, Edward, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Granger, Gideon, 414.
- Granville, *Sir* Bevil, 286.
- Granville, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Graudentz, *Germany*, 206.
- Graves, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Gray, Horace, 351, 364.
- Green, Benjamin, 267.
- Green, John, 139.
- Green, John Richard, his "History of the English People" cited, 115, 116. His "Making of England" cited, 346.
- Green, Samuel, 267.
- Green, Samuel A., 2, 3, 51, 133, 138, 224, 225, 310, 320, 388, 395. Elected a Councillor, 3, 224.
- Green, Samuel S., 52, 60, 131, 189, 223, 224, 394. Elected a Councillor, 3, 224. Recording Secretary *pro tempore*, 95. Presents the biographical portion of the report of the Council, 257-266. Appointed to prepare a memoir of Edward Jarvis, 343. Memoir of Dr. Jarvis by, 484-487.
- Greene, Daniel C., presents three Japanese tiles, 92.
- Greene, J. Evarts, 92. Elected a member, 1. Appointed to prepare a memoir of Porter C. Bliss, 343. His memoir of Mr. Bliss, 490-492.
- Greene, *Gen.* Nathaniel, 44, 45.
- Greenwich, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 426.
- Greenwood, Ethan A., 141.
- Grijalva, Juan de, 206.
- Griswold, Edward, 431.
- Griswold, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Gross, V., 188.
- Groton, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 432.
- Groton, *Mass.*, 176.
- Guild, Reuben A., 60.
- Gulford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 426.
- H.
- Haddam, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 432.
- Hadley, *Mass.*, 176.
- Hale, Edward E., 317. Remarks on Mr. Bancroft's paper on the relations between Washington and Hamilton, 2, 3. Elected a Councillor, 3, 224. Elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 4, 225. Calls attention to the map to be published by Harris in his life of Cortereal, 33.
- Hale, George S., 396.
- Halifax, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Hall, Edward H., elected a Councillor, 224.

- Hall, Samuel, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Hallam, Henry, his "Middle Ages" cited, 358.
- Hallowell, Benjamin, 176.
- Hamden, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.
- Hamilton, Alexander, 2, 3. His relations with Washington, article on, by George Bancroft, 41-50. His part in the authorship of the *Federalist*, 409-420.
- Hamilton, John C., 44, 409, 412. His "History of the Republic" cited, 46.
- Hampden, John, 427.
- Hampshire County, *Mass.*, 173.
- Hampton, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.
- Hand, *Gen.* Edward, 45, 46.
- Hanover, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Harden, William, elected a member, 223.
- Hardwick, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Harris, Benjamin, 279.
- Harris, Clarendon, his death noticed, 97. Sketch of his life, 97, 98.
- Harris, Mary Dix, 97.
- Harris, Thaddeus Mason, 97, 324.
- Harris, Henry, 33.
- Hartford, *Conn.*, the settlement of the colony of, 423-425. The derivation of the name of, 427.
- Hartlib, Samuel, 267, 271.
- Harvard College, 161, 163, 237.
- Harwinton, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 439.
- Haskins, David G., Jr., 254, 256.
- Hatch, William, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Hatfield, *Mass.*, 176.
- Baumonté, J. D., his "Grammaire de Langue Taensa," 475-477, *ib.*, cited, 476.
- Haven, Samuel F., 130, 226, 251, 263, 310, 318, 320, 325, 345, 390.
- Haven, *Mrs.* Samuel F., 53, 395.
- Haven Fund, 75, 128, 308, 374, 378.
- Haverhill, *Mass.*, 174, 176.
- Hayden, Ferdinand V., 25.
- Haynes, Henry W., 225, 340, 396, 465. Remarks on Mr. Putnam's theory as to the mounds and the mound-builders, 20-22. Presents an article entitled "Notes on Copper Implements of America," 335-338. Presents an article on "French Fabrications or Blunders in American Linguistics," 475-481.
- Haynes, John, 432.
- Haywood, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Healy, George P. A., 489.
- Heaton, A. G., 394.
- Henry, Matthew, 301.
- Herron, Joseph, 106.
- Heywood, William, 54.
- Hildeburn, Charles R., 316.
- Hildreth, Richard, his "History of the United States" cited, 170, 174.
- Hill, Thomas, his remarks on the life and services of Admiral Preble, 500.
- Hillhouse, *Rev.* James, 442.
- Hinckley, Samuel, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- "Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries" cited, 418.
- Hoadley, Abraham, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Hoadly, Charles J., 288.
- Hoar, George F., 133, 137, 310, 312, 322, 340, 390. Elected Vice-President, 8. Presents resolutions to the Council on the death of Mr. Salisbury, 211, 212. Vice-President, 222. Elected President, 223. Remarks on his election as President, 223, 224. His remarks on the presentation of the Huntington portrait of Mr. Salisbury, cited, 310, 311. President, 339. Presents the Report of the Council, 345-371.
- Hochstetter, Ferd. von, 455, 457, 458.
- Holloway, William, his "General Dictionary of Provincialisms" cited, 366, 367.
- Homem, Diego, 33.
- Honterus, Joannes, 33.
- Hosmer, James, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Howe, Samuel G., 485.
- Howland, John, 99.
- Hudson, Francis, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.
- Hull, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 422.
- Humboldt, Alexander von, 30. His "Cosmos" cited 31.

Humfrey, John, 427.  
 Humphrey, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Hunnewell, James F., 133.  
 Hunt, Almira, 486.  
 Huntington, Daniel, 141.  
 Huntington, William R., 133, 320. Elected a Councillor, 3.  
 Huntington, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Hutchinson, Elisha, 279, 281.  
 Hutchinson, Thomas, 176, 289. His "History of Massachusetts Bay" cited, 286, 287, 292, 293, 302.  
 Hyland, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.

## I.

India, the stone implements of, 178-182.  
 Indians, Province laws of Massachusetts in relation to, 175.  
 Irving, Washington, 48.

## J.

Jack, C. R., 137.  
 Jackson, James, 233.  
 Jagor, F., 182.  
 Japan, the stone implements of, 194-204.  
 Jarkand, *China*, 183.  
 Jarvis, Edward, 133, 323. His death announced, 343. Biographical sketch of, by Samuel S. Green, 484-487.  
 Jarvis, Francis, 484.  
 Jarvis, Mellicent, 484.  
 Jay, John, his part in the authorship of the *Federalist*, 409-418.  
 Jennison, Samuel, 130, 317. Elected a member, 223.  
 Jillson, Clark, 324.  
 Johnson, Edward, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Johnson, Oliver, 59.  
 Johnson, *Doctor* Samuel, 229, 421.  
 Jones, Horatio G., 133.  
 Jones, Milton, 17.  
 Jones, William, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Jordan, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Josselyn, Abraham, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Junkins, Martha, 496.

## K.

Kekchi, dialect, 209.  
 Keller, Ferdinand, 459.  
 Keller, Otto, 52.  
 Kent, James, 411, 415.  
 Kent, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.  
 Kent, the obligations of New England to the County of, 345-371.  
 Kentish Emigrants to New England, list of, 369, 370.  
 Kiche, dialect, 209.  
 Killingworth, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 431.  
 Kimball, John C., 4, 10, 395.  
 Kingsborough Collection, 337, 450, 469.  
 Kinney, Benjamin H., 133.  
 Knowlton, John S. C., 325 n.  
 Kohl, John G., his "History of the Discovery of Maine" cited, 26.  
 Kolairi, *aborigines of India*, 180.  
 Königsberg, *Germany*, 205.

## L.

Lacroix, Paul, 477.  
 La Crosse, *Wisconsin*, 7, 8 n.  
 Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, *Marquis de*, 43, 49.  
 Lambard, William, his "Perambulations of Kent" cited, 351, 352, 356, 359, 360.  
 Lambert, John, 277.  
 Lamson, Charles M., elected a member, 1.  
 Lancaster, *Mass.*, 176. Town Library of, 384.  
 Large, Jarvis, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 369.  
 Laurens, Henry, 46, 47.  
 Lebanon, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 439.  
 Lechford, Thomas, 95.  
 Ledyard, John, 441.  
 Ledyard, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Lee, *Gen.* Charles, 50.  
 Leeds, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Leete, James A., 53.  
 Legaré, Hugh S., 104.  
 Legaspi, Miguel Lopez, 457.  
 Lelewel, Joachim, 34.  
 Lenox, James, 315, 318.  
 Lenox, *Duke of*, 350.



- Leonard, Benjamin A., 324.  
 Le Plongeon, Augustus, 265.  
 Leuville, *Marquis de*, 138.  
 Lewis, George, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Lewis, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Leyppoldt, Frederick, 319.  
 Librarian, see Barton, Edmund M.  
 Librarian's and General Fund, 72, 125, 126, 305, 306, 372, 375.  
 Library of Congress, 102.  
 Library of the Society, report of the Librarian, October 22, 1883, 51-61; April 80, 1884, 180-147; October 21, 1884, 310-326; April 29, 1885, 380-397.  
 Lincoln, Abraham, *President*, 491.  
 Lincoln, Levi, *the elder*, 382.  
 Lincoln, Solomon, 340.  
 Lincoln, William, 130, 382. Tribute to, by John Davis, cited, 312-314.  
 Lincoln, William S., 382.  
 Lincoln Legacy Fund, 74, 127, 225, 304, 307, 373, 374, 377. The disposition of the income of the, 304, 305.  
 Lisbon, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.  
 Litchfield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.  
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 48, 340. Presents a paper on "The Authorship of the Federalist," 409-420.  
 Lohmann, Paul, 183, 184, 185, 195 n.  
 Lombard, Richard, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Lopatin, Inocense, 188.  
 Lopez, Don Francisco, 490, 491.  
 Lothrop, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Lovell, *Gen.* Solomon, 34.  
 Lovett, John J., 11.  
 Low, C. F., 10.  
 Lunenburg, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.  
 Lyde, Edward, 290.  
 Lyell, *Sir* Charles, 23.  
 Lyme, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.  
 Lynde, Samuel, 290.
- M.
- Macaulay, Thomas B., *lord*, 147.  
 Macclintock, John, 101.  
 Mackintosh, D., 345. His "Results of Ethnological Observations in England and Wales" cited, 363-8, 368.  
 Madison, James, his part in the authorship of the Federalist, 409-420. His "Letters and other Writings" cited, 416.  
 Madison, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Magellan, Ferdinand de, 29.  
 Maine, *Sir* Henry, his "Early History of Institutions" cited, 118.  
 Managua, lake, 92.  
 Manchester, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.  
 Manchester, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 422.  
 Mann, William, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Mansfield, *Major* Moses, 436.  
 Mansfield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 436.  
 Marcey, *M.* de, 478.  
 Marco Polo, 27, 29, 30, 32.  
 Marlborough, *Mass.*, 176.  
 Marshall, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Marshpee, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 442.  
 Mason, Elias, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 "Massachusetts Archives" cited, 276.  
 Massachusetts Bible Society, 238.  
 Massachusetts, Financial policy of, 168-171.  
 Massachusetts Historical Society, 223, 287, 270. The "By-Laws" of, cited, 91. Its action on the death of Stephen Salisbury, 249-254. "Proceedings" cited, 271, 272.  
 Mather, Cotton, 285, 286. His "Accomplished Singer" cited, 90 n. His "Magnalla" cited, 275. The authorship of the first part of "Some Considerations on the Bills of Credit," attributed to, 279, *ib.*, cited, 279-284. His "Life of Sir William Phips" cited, 282 n., 285, 286. His account of the trial of Mercy Short, 386.  
 Maximilian, the Emperor, 481.  
 Maya, *Indians*, 209, 210.  
 McCagg, Ezra B., 489.  
 McCrillis, Robert O., 58.  
 McCulloch, John R., his "Litera-

- ture of Political Economy" cited, 270.
- McCullough, William, 316.
- McGraw Library Fund, Cornell University, 144.
- McKean, Joseph, 91.
- McMaster, John B., elected a member, 77.
- Meissner, J. P., 480 n.
- Members, election of, 1, 77, 78, 223, 339, 340. List of those present at meetings, 1, 77, 222, 339.
- Mendon, *Mass.*, 176.
- Mendoza, Gumesindo, 469.
- Mercator, Gerardus, 83.
- Meriden, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 429.
- Merrick, Pliny, 322.
- Merrick Public Library of Brookfield, *Massachusetts*, 384.
- Merriman, Daniel, elected a member, 78.
- Merriman, *Mrs.* Daniel, 395.
- Messenger, David S., 138.
- Metcalf, John G., 57. His "Annals of Mendon" cited, 175.
- Metcalf, Theron, 483.
- Metz, Charles L., 10, 14.
- Middlefield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 423.
- Middlesex County, *Mass.*, 173.
- Middletown, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 428.
- Milford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 426.
- Mills, Julia Sherman, 493.
- Miese, B. F., 16.
- Monroe, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Montelius, Oscar, 462.
- Montesquieu, *Baron de*, his "Spirit of Laws" cited, 357.
- Montezuma, *King*, 458.
- Montville, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 442.
- Moore, George H., 138, 383, 385, 386, 394. "Notes on Tithing-men," and "The Ballot in Massachusetts," 81-91.
- Morgan, Lewis H., 17. His "Studies in the Houses of the American Aborigines" cited, 21, 22. His Address as President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1880, cited, 117, 118.
- Morris, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Morrison, Nathan J., 141.
- Mors, Nathaniel, 301.
- Motley, John L., his "Rise of the Dutch Republic" cited, 370, 371.
- Müller, Fred., 455.
- Munsell, Joel, 320.
- Münster, Sebastian, 82, 83.
- Murphy, Henry C., 144.
- Mussell, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- Mystic, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 429.
- N.
- Nantucket County, recognized as a county, 159.
- Natick, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 442.
- Naugatuck, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 442.
- Nelson, John, 282 n.
- Nelson, Thomas L., 387. Appointed to prepare a memoir of Ellis Ames, 343. His memoir of Mr. Ames, 482, 483.
- Newark (*N.J.*) Library Association, 259.
- New Britain, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- New England Historic Genealogical Society, its action on the death of Stephen Salisbury, 254-256.
- New Fairfield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.
- New Hartford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.
- New Haven, the settlement of the colony of, 428-425. The derivation of the name of, 425, 426.
- Newington, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 434.
- New Jersey Historical Society, 259.
- New London, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 428.
- New Milford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.
- New York, "Documents relating to the Colonial History of" cited, 282 n.
- Nineveh, 185.
- Nisbeth, G. A., 462.
- Norfolk, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.
- Norfolk County, *Mass.*, 159.
- North, S. N. D., 60.
- "North American Review" cited, 260.

Northampton, *Mass.*, 176.  
 North Haven, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 423.  
 Norwalk, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 428.  
 Norwich, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 429.  
 Notices of deceased members, 482-506.  
 Nourse, Henry S., 320, 384, 387. Elected a member, 1.  
 Noyes, James, 268.  
 Noyes, Moses, 433.  
 Noyes, Oliver, 290.  
 Noyes, Stephen B., his death noticed, 386.

## O.

Ober, Frederick A., 451, 470.  
 Oliver, Andrew, 176.  
 Oliver, Nathaniel, 290.  
 Orange, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.  
 "Origin of New England Towns, their Powers and Duties," article on, by P. Emory Aldrich, 111-124.  
 Orizaba, *Mexico*, 206.  
 Oseland, Edward J., 266.  
 Ovidius Naso, Publius, his "Metamorphoses" cited, 91.  
 Oulton, John, 290.  
 Ovell, Nathaniel, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Owen, Sir Philip E., 183.  
 Oxford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 434.

## P.

Paige, Lucius R., presents a cannon-ball picked up on Bunker Hill, 35.  
 Pain, William, 290.  
 Paine, Nathaniel, 2, 36-38, 57, 96, 133, 221, 223, 276 n., 277 n., 297 n., 299, 340, 380, 382, 391. Elected Treasurer, 4, 225. Elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 4, 225. Submits his reports as Treasurer, 71-76, 125-129, 304-309, 372-379. His tribute to Mr. Salisbury, 217-219. His "Remarks on the Early Paper Currency of Massachusetts," 266, *ib.* cited, 301. Appointed to prepare a memoir of George H. Preble, 348. His sketch of Admiral Preble, 495-500.

Paine, William, 180, 187.  
 Palfrey, John G., 277 n. His "History of New England" cited, 278, 355, 356.  
 Palfry, Warwick, 89.  
 Paper Currency in New England, article on, by J. Hammond Trumbull, 266-303.  
 Paragramacas, *Indians*, 456.  
 Parker, Henry J., 324.  
 Parker, James, 258.  
 Parker, Joel, 233. His "Origin, Organization, and Influence of the Towns of New England" cited, 113.  
 Parker, Margaret E., 258.  
 Parker, Thomas, 268.  
 Partridge, Oliver, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Paulding, James K., 417, 419.  
 Paulmy, *Marquis de*, 478.  
 Payne, William, 289.  
 Peabody, Andrew P., 222, 247, 249, 257, 260, 484, 486, 487. Accepts the duty of preparing a memorial address on Stephen Salisbury, 221. Elected a Councillor, 224. His Memorial of Mr. Salisbury, 227-246.  
 Peabody, Elliott H., 54.  
 Peabody Museum, *Cambridge*, 92, 93, 237, 253.  
 Peet, Stephen D., 4, 5.  
 Pelham, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.  
 Penn, William, 278.  
 Pequot, the Indian name of New London, 429.  
 Perez, Pio, 208.  
 Perkins, Frederick S., 335.  
 Perry, *Commodore* Oliver H., 497.  
 Perry, William Stevens, 320. Extract from his letter upon the death of Dr. Farquharson, 261.  
 Peten, *Yucatan*, 206.  
 Petzholdt, Julius, his "Book of the Savages in the Light of French Civilization," 480.  
 Phillips, Abigail, 279.  
 Phillips, George W., 59.  
 Phillips, John, 279.  
 Phillips, Samuel, 288.  
 Pickering, John, 89.  
 Pickering, Timothy, 89.  
 Pierce, Marmaduke, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Plerpont, John, 90.  
 Pitkin, William, 302.

- Pitt, William, *Earl of Chatham*, 434.
- Plainfield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 437.
- Plymouth County, *Mass.*, 174.
- Plymstock, *Ireland*, 461.
- Pocomchi, dialect, 209.
- Pohl, *Dr.*, 455.
- Poljakoff, *Mr.*, 188.
- Pomeroy, *Gen.* Seth, 175.
- Pomfret, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 432.
- Poole, William F., 60, 321, 386, 391, 392, 394. Appointed to prepare a memoir of William Barry, 343. His memoir of Mr. Barry, 487-489.
- Poore, Ben: Perley, 3, 388.
- Porter, Edward G., 183. Describes a visit to Castine, Maine, and presents articles therefrom, 84.
- Portland, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.
- Potter, William, 269, 270, 272, 300.
- Preble, Abraham, 495.
- Preble, Edward, 496.
- Preble, Enoch, 496.
- Preble, George H., 52, 133, 321. His death announced, 343. The gift of his correspondence with relation to the United States flag, 392. Biographical sketch of, by Nathaniel Palne, 495-500.
- Preble, George H. R., 499.
- Preble, Jedediah, 495, 496.
- Preston, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.
- Prince, Thomas, 267.
- Property, Statutes in relation to, in Massachusetts, 172.
- Prospect, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 442.
- Proudfoot, Lawrence, 489.
- Providence, *B. I.*, 206, 209. The derivation of the name of, 443.
- Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, 99.
- "Province Laws of Massachusetts, The," article on, by Hamilton B. Staples, 158-177.
- Ptolemaeus, Claudius, 27, 29, 32, 38.
- Publishing Fund, 71, 73, 127, 304, 307, 373, 376.
- Putnam, Frederick W., 20, 21, 24, 338, 451, 469-471. Presents an account of his recent archaeological excursions in Wisconsin and Ohio, 4-20. Remarks bearing upon the antiquity of man in America, 92, 98. His "Notes on Copper Implements from Mexico" cited, 472.
- Putnam, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Pym, John, 427.
- Pythagoras, 91.

## R.

- Raikes, George A., 54.
- Randolph, Edward, 277.
- Rau, Charles, 148, 396.
- Rawson, Edward, *Secretary*, 86.
- Raymenton, William H., 187.
- Read, *Col.* John, 486.
- Reading, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 422.
- Redding, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 486.
- Rehoboth, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 489.
- Revenue, Statutes in relation to, in Massachusetts, 163, 164.
- Reynolds, *Sir* Joshua, 229.
- Rhode Island Historical Society, 99, 100.
- Ribero, Diego, 83.
- Rice, Tilly, 322.
- Rice, William W., 188, 395. Elected a member, 340.
- Rich, *Lord*, 427.
- Richardson, Henry, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- Ridgefield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 437.
- Riebeck, Emil, 194.
- Riordan, John J., 315.
- Rivett-Carnac, *Mr.*, 178, 179, 180.
- Roberts, *Mrs.* Mehitable, 496.
- Robinson, *Miss* Mary, 338.
- Robinson, Thomas, 353.
- Rocky Hill, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 437.
- Roe, Alfred S., 53.
- Rogers, Horatio, 322.
- Root, Josiah, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- Roxbury, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 437.
- Rush, Richard, 414, 416.
- Russell, *Mrs.* Francis T., 142, 391.
- Russell, George, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- Ruz, Joaquin, 210.
- Rye, *New York*, the derivation of the name of, 429.

## S.

- Saavedra, Alvaro de, 457.  
 Safford, Nathaniel F., 255.  
 Salem, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.  
 Salem, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 439.  
 Salisbury, Daniel Waldo, 138.  
 Salisbury, James H., 138, 388.  
 Salisbury, John, 230.  
 Salisbury, Nicholas, 230.  
 Salisbury, Samuel, 231.  
 Salisbury, Stephen, *the elder*, 231.  
 Salisbury, *Hon.* Stephen, 132, 257, 322, 325. President, 1, 2, 77. Elected President, 3. Presents the report of the Council, 36-50. Presents resolutions to the Council on the death of Dwight Foster, 94, 95. His letter relating to the establishment of a public library in Worcester, 139, 140. Action of the Council on the death of, 211-221. Memorial of, by Andrew P. Peabody, 227-246. The Committee of Publication authorized to procure a steel engraving of, for the "Proceedings," 225. Tribute to, by Edmund M. Barton, 310-312.  
 Salisbury, Stephen, Jr., 92, 132, 142, 315, 335, 380, 388, 393, 470. Elected a Councillor, 8. His "Partial Index to the Proceedings," 37, 58. Elected Vice-President, 224. Remarks on his "Partial Index," by Dr. Ellis, 225, 226. Appointed one of the committee to commemorate the discovery of America by Columbus, 341.  
 Salisbury Building Fund, 75, 128, 308, 373, 374, 378.  
 Salisbury, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.  
 Salisbury, *Mass.*, 176.  
 Saltonstall, Gurdon, *Gov. of Conn.*, 432, 444.  
 Salusbury, *Sir* Charles J., 229.  
 Salzburg, Adam de, 229.  
 Sampson, Davenport & Co., *Messrs.*, 395.  
 Santa Lucia de Cozumaljupa, *Guatemala*, 207.  
 Sargent, Joseph, 221, 338. Elected a Councillor, 3, 224. Remarks on the death of Stephen Salisbury, 214.  
 Saunders, Martha, 281.  
 Say and Sele, *Viscount*, 427.  
 Saybrook, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 427.  
 Sayer, James, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Scammell, *Col.* Alexander, 45.  
 Schlagintweit, Robert, 188.  
 Schlemann, Henry, 185.  
 Schöner, Johann, 32. Remarks by Charles Deane on his "Opusculum Geographicum," with extracts, 26-31.  
 Schoolcraft, Henry R., 338, 465, 480.  
 Schuyler, Philip, 48.  
 Scituate, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 442.  
 Scotland, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.  
 Scott, *Sir* Walter, his "Ivanhoe," cited, 360.  
 Scull, Gideon D., 136.  
 Selden, John, his Notes to Drayton's Poly-Olbion cited, 346-348.  
 Semi-annual Meeting of the Society, April 30, 1884, 77, *ib.* April 29, 1885, 339.  
 "Semi-Lunar and Crescent-Shaped Tools," article on, by Philipp J. J. Valentini, 449-474. Cuts of, 454, 456, 459-468.  
 Seymour, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Sharon, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 439.  
 Sharon, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 439.  
 Shaw, Lemuel, 364, 483, 487.  
 Shelburne, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.  
 Shepard, Thomas, 90.  
 Sherman, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Sherman, *Gen.* William T., 498.  
 Shiels, Arturo, elected a member, 78.  
 Short, John T., 111. His death announced, 100. Sketch of his life, 100-104. His "North Americans of Antiquity" cited, 102, 103.  
 Short, Mercy, Cotton Mather's account of the trial of, 386.  
 Shrewsbury, *Mass.*, the derivation of the name of, 435.  
 Siberia, Stone implements of, 187-194.  
 Sibley, John L., 385.

- Siebold, Henry von, 196, 201, 204.  
His "Notes on Japanese Archaeology," 194, 195.
- Sigourney, *Mrs.* Lydia H., 142.  
Oil portrait of, presented by George F. Hoar, 390.
- Simsbury, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.
- Skinner, Mark, 489.
- Slafter, Edmund F., 316.
- Smith, *Mrs.* Erminnie A., 54.
- Smith, Squire J., 16.
- Smith, Matthew, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- Smith, William A., elected an Auditor, 225. Certificate as Auditor, 379.
- Smith, Wright, 141.
- Smithsonian Institution, 206.
- Smucker, Isaac, extract from his letter upon the death of John T. Short, 103, 104.
- Smyth, Egbert C., 81. Elected a Councillor, 8, 224.
- Somers, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 485.
- Somner, William, his "Treatise on Gavelkind" cited, 358.
- Southold, *New York*, the derivation of the name of, 427.
- "Sow case," the, 87.
- Sparks, Jared, his "Writings of George Washington, with a Life," cited, 44-46, 49. Extracts from a letter to George Bancroft, 48 n.
- Spofford, Ainsworth R., 394.
- Spot, Thomas, 848.
- Sprague, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Squier, E. George, 466.
- Squier, E. George, and Davis, Edwin H., 10-12, 15-17, 21.  
Their "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley" cited, 21.
- Srinagur, *India*, 182.
- Stafford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.
- Stamford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 426.
- Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn, *Dean*, 368 n.
- Staples, Hamilton B., 92, 323.  
Presents a paper entitled "The Province Laws of Massachusetts," 158-177.
- Star, Comfort, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- State Mutual Life Assurance Company, 98, 138.
- Sterling, John, 441.
- Sterling, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Stetson, Robert, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- Stevens, Henry, 54.
- Stevens, S., 451.
- Stirling, *Sir* James, 497.
- Stobnicza, Johann, 27, 32.
- Stoddard, Elijah B., 55.
- Stone, Edwin M., his death announced, 99. Sketch of his life, 99, 100.
- Stone, Samuel, 427.
- "Stone Implements of Asia," article on the, by Heinrich Fischer, 178-204. Cuts of, 182, 189-193, 196-203.
- Stonington, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 429, 437.
- Story, William, 176.
- Stoughton, William, 296 n.
- Stow, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- Stratford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 427.
- Strobel, *Prof.*, 336.
- Stuart, Frederick T., 373.
- Stubbs, William, 114. His "Constitutional History of England" cited, 116.
- Sturgis, *Mrs.* Henry P., 137, 324.
- Suffield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 438.
- Suffolk County, *Mass.*, 159, 173.
- Sully, Thomas, 141.
- Sumner, Charles, 318.
- "Sunday School Times," an article from, on indexing, cited, 891.
- Symmes, Zechariah, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.

## T.

- Tabasco, *Mexico*, 206.
- Taensas, *Indians*, 475-477.
- Taft, George S., his List of Kentish Emigrants to New England, 369, 370.
- Taft, Henry W., elected a member, 223.
- Tailer, William, 290.
- Talcott, John, 427.
- Taxation, laws in relation to, in Massachusetts, 173.
- Taylor, Alexander S., 390. Account of his life, 263-265.

- Teff, Thomas A., 99.  
 Tenney Fund, 75, 128, 308, 374, 378.  
 Thayer, Nathaniel, 384.  
 Thayer, Simeon, 99.  
 Thomas, Benjamin F., 140, 482.  
 Thomas, Isalah, 51, 137, 141, 143, 145, 252, 316, 384. Founder of the Massachusetts Spy, 39.  
 Thomas Local History Fund, 74, 127, 128, 307, 319, 377.  
 Thomaston, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Thompson, Charles O., 52. His death announced, 348. Biographical sketch of, by P. Emory Aldrich, 501-506.  
 Thompson, Sir Robert, 436.  
 Thompson, Richard W., extract from his tribute to Samuel S. Early, 363.  
 Thompson, William, 501.  
 Thompson, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 486.  
 Thorne, Robert, 33.  
 Thornton, Timothy, 290.  
 Thrall, Mrs. Hester Lynch, 229.  
 Tichnor, William, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Ticknor, George, 233.  
 Tilden, Judith, 495.  
 Tilden, Nathaniel, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Tilghman, Col. Tench, 49.  
 Tithing-men, notes on, by George H. Moore, 81-91.  
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, his "American Institutions and their Influence" cited, 112. His "Democracy in America" cited, 357.  
 Tolland, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 482.  
 Toppan, Robert N., elected a member, 340.  
 Torquemada, Juan de, 471.  
 Torrington, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.  
 Towns, the origin and development of, in New England, 111-124.  
 Townships, remarks on the origin and methods of, 78-81.  
 Trade and manufactures, statutes in relation to, in Massachusetts, 173.  
 Trask, Israel, 34.  
 Treasurer, see Paine, Nathaniel.  
 Treat, Robert, *Gov. of Conn.*, 444.  
 Trenton, *N. J.*, 93.  
 Trescott, William H., 109, 110.  
 Tro, the Codex, 450.  
 Trübner, Nicholas, 319.  
 Trumbull, J. Hammond, 223, 317. Elected Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, 4, 224. Presents the report of the Council, 257-303.  
 Trumbull, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Tucker, Harriet, 482.  
 Tucker, Samuel, 482.  
 Tucker, William W., 52.  
 Tuckerman, Edward, 231.  
 Tuckerman, Elizabeth, 231.  
 Tuckerman, Joseph, 231.  
 Twichell, Mrs. Ginery, 395, 396.  
 Twichell, Miss Theolotia L., 395.  
 Twisden, John, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Tyler, Wat, 356.  
 Tyng, Stephen H., 232, 233.
- U.
- Uc, José Sabino, 207.  
 Union, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.  
 United States Department of the Interior, letter from the, relating to the distribution of government documents, 131, 132.  
 Urdaneta, Fray Andres, 457.
- V.
- Valentini, Philipp J. J., 92, 178, 335, 337, 338, 340. His "Mexican Copper Tools" cited, 336. Presents an article on "Semi-Lunar and Crescent-Shaped Tools," 449-474.  
 Vera Cruz, *Mexico*, 206.  
 Vernon, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Verrazzano, Jean, 33.  
 Verstegan, Richard, 359 n.  
 Vesputius, Americus, 27, 29, 31. His connection with the name of America, 31.  
 Villalobos, Ruy Lopez de, 457.  
 Vinci, Leonardo da, 32.  
 Voluntown, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 440.  
 Voss, Dr. Alb., 466, 467.
- W.
- Waldo, Elisha H., 384.  
 Walker, George L., 137.

- Wall, *Miss* Sarah E., 138.  
 Wallingford, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.  
 Waltze-Müller, Martin Hylacomylus, his "Cosmographiae Introductio," etc cited, 31.  
 Ward, Artemas, 98.  
 Warren, Charles H., 253.  
 Warren, John C., 233.  
 Warren, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Washburn, Charles A., 491.  
 Washburn, Ichabod, 236.  
 Washburn, Israel, Jr., his death noticed, 89.  
 Washburn, John D., 2, 85, 77, 253, 317, 323. Presents the Council's recommendations of candidates for membership, 1, 223. Elected Recording Secretary, 4, 224. Remarks on the death of Stephen Salisbury, 214-217. Communicates to the Society the action of the Council on the death of Mr. Salisbury, 222. His Council report, April, 1883, cited, 397.  
 Washington, *Gen.* George, 2. His relations with Hamilton, article on, by George Bancroft, 41-50. His memorandum of the authorship of the Federalist, 413, 414, 419.  
 Washington, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 441.  
 Waterbury, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 423, 437.  
 Waterston, Robert C., his gift to the Publishing Fund announced, 36, 71.  
 Watkinson Library, *Hartford*, 300.  
 Watts, Isaac, 434.  
 Webb, *Miss* Eleanore, begins the examination of the Society's collection of manuscripts, 381.  
 Webb, James Watson, 491.  
 Webster, Daniel, 342, 358.  
 Weeden, William B., 333. Elected a member, 78.  
 Wentworth, John, 325.  
 Wesby, Herbert, 325.  
 Wetherell, William, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Wethersfield, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 427.  
 Westfield, *Mass.*, 176.  
 Wheelock, Clarendon, 325 n.  
 White, Andrew D., elected a member, 223.  
 White, Edward, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 White, Richard Grant, 367.  
 Whitehead, Cortlandt, 259.  
 Whitehead, John, 258.  
 Whitehead, William, 258.  
 Whitehead, William A., his death noticed, 258. Sketch of the life of, 258-260.  
 Whitmore, William H., his "Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts," 435 n.  
 Whittred, William, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Whittingham, William R., 317.  
 Wight, Moses, 141.  
 Wilder, Marshall P., 254.  
 Wilkes-Barre, Pa., the derivation of the name of, 434.  
 Wilkinson, Gardner, 333.  
 Wilkinson, *Gen.* James, the collection of the papers of, 3.  
 Willard, Calvin, *Sheriff*, 396.  
 Willard, *Mrs.* Calvin, 396.  
 Willard, Cephas, 488.  
 Willard, Clarissa, 488.  
 Willard, Elizabeth, 487.  
 Willard, Richard, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Willard, Simon, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.  
 Williams, *Col.* Ephraim, 175.  
 Williams, George, 89.  
 Williams, J. Fletcher, 53.  
 Williams, Roger, 100, 443.  
 Willington, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 432.  
 Wilton, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.  
 Winchester, Elhanan, 99.  
 Winchester, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.  
 Windham, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 433.  
 Windsor, *Conn.*, the derivation of the name of, 427.  
 Winsor, Justin, 60, 224, 332, 394. His "Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography," 27 n. Remarks on the views of the early geographers regarding the continent of America, 32-34. His Address at the opening of the library building of the University of Michigan cited, 147.  
 Winthrop, Adam, 356.  
 Winthrop, Fitz John, 432.  
 Winthrop, Francis William, 253.



- Winthrop, John, *Gov. of Mass.*, 87, 90, 121, 300, 324, 355, 356, 371. His "Discourse on Arbitrary Government" cited, 357.
- Winthrop, John, *Gov. of Conn.*, 267, 271, 300, 355, 428, 432. His Letters to Samuel Hartlib, in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society" cited, 271, 272.
- Winthrop, Robert C., 223, 249, 338, 398, 414 n. His remarks before the Massachusetts Historical Society on the death of Mr. Salisbury, 251-254. Suggests that the Society take action on the discovery of America by Columbus, 340. The congratulations of the Society on his Washington Monument oration, 342.
- Winthrop, Thomas L., 141, 324.
- Wisconsin Historical Society, 335.
- Wise, John, 293, 294. His "Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country," 293, 303; *ib.* cited, 294-299.
- Witkowski, Mr., 187, 188.
- Wolcott, Henry, 432.
- Wolcott, Gov. Roger, 432.
- Wolcott, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Worcester Association, the, 60.
- Wood, Robert W., 484.
- Woodbridge, Dudley, 286.
- Woodbridge, John, 286, 431. His career, 268, 269. His tract "Severals relating to the Fund," 267; *ib.* cited, 268-270, 273-275.
- Woodbridge, Jonathan, 441.
- Woodbridge, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 441.
- Woodbury, Conn., the derivation of the name of, 437.
- Woods, Alva, 253.
- Woodstock, Conn., 176.
- Woodward, Ashbel, 388.
- Worcester County, Mass., 174. Recognized as a county, 159.
- Worcester County Bar Association, 387.
- Worcester County Bible Society, 238.
- Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science, Mr. Salisbury's part in the foundation and support of, 235-237. Dr. Thompson's connection with the, 502, 503.
- Worcester County Horticultural Society, 98. Mr. Salisbury's connection with, 235.
- Worcester County Institution for Savings, 235.
- Worcester County Mechanics Association, 139.
- Worcester Fire Society, 60.
- Worcester Five Cents Savings Bank, 98.
- Worcester Free Public Library, 138, 333. Mr. Salisbury's connection with, 235.
- Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal, 318.
- Worcester National Bank, 234.
- Worcester Society of Antiquity, 130.
- Wordsworth, William, 347. His "Scenery of the Lakes" cited, 361.
- Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 356.
- Wyborne, Thomas, an emigrant to New England from Kent, 370.
- Wyllys, George, 302.

## Y.

- Yeoman, the character of the, in Kent and in New England, 353-361.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

*American Antiquarian Society,*

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 22, 1883.



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Worcester:

PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,

311 MAIN STREET.

1884.

## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING . . . . .	1
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL . . . . .	36
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN . . . . .	51
DONORS AND DONATIONS . . . . .	62
REPORT OF THE TREASURER . . . . .	71

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*March, 1884.*

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

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## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING . . . . .	77
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL . . . . .	96
REPORT OF THE TREASURER . . . . .	125
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN . . . . .	130
DONORS AND DONATIONS . . . . .	148
THE PROVINCE LAWS . . . . .	158
THE STONE IMPLEMENTS OF ASIA . . . . .	178
MEMOIR OF DR. C. H. BERENDT . . . . .	205







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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

*American Antiquarian Society,*

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1884;

AND ACTION OF THE COUNCIL ON THE DEATH OF

PRESIDENT SALISBURY.



**Worcester:**

**PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,**

**311 MAIN STREET.**

**1885.**

# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ACTION OF THE COUNCIL ON THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT . . .	211
PROCEEDINGS AT ANNUAL MEETING . . . . .	222
MEMORIAL BY REV. A. P. PEABODY, D.D. . . . .	227
LETTER FROM HON. GEO. BANCROFT . . . . .	247
ACTION OF MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY ON DEATH OF PRESIDENT SALISBURY . . . . .	249
ACTION OF N. E. HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY . . . . .	254
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL . . . . .	257
REPORT OF THE TREASURER . . . . .	304
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN . . . . .	310
DONORS AND DONATIONS . . . . .	327
NOTES ON COPPER IMPLEMENTS OF AMERICA, BY H. W. HAYNES .	335

Case.....	Shelf.....
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

*American Antiquarian Society,*

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT BOSTON,

APRIL 29, 1885.



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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING . . . . .	339
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL . . . . .	342
REPORT OF THE TREASURER . . . . .	372
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN . . . . .	380
DONORS AND DONATIONS . . . . .	398
THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FEDERALIST . . . . .	409
THE HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE NAMES OF HER TOWNS . . . . .	421
SEMI-LUNAR AND CRESCENT-SHAPED TOOLS . . . . .	449
FRENCH FABRICATIONS OR BLUNDERS IN AMERICAN LINGUISTICS .	475
NOTICES OF DECEASED MEMBERS . . . . .	482
LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS . . . . .	507

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